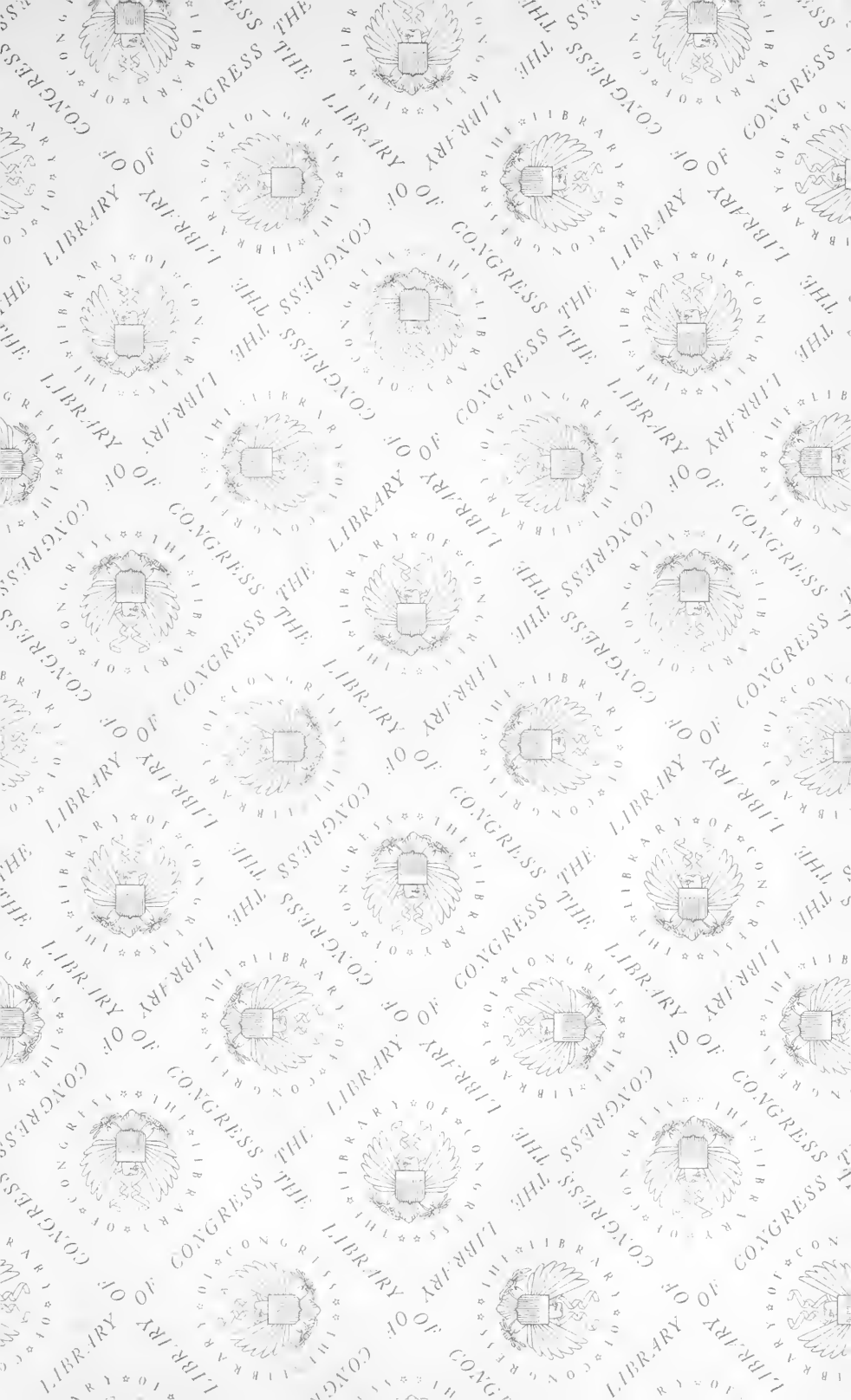


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THE
RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS
OF THE UNITED STATES

A MANUAL OF CITIZENSHIP

BY

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OF NEW-YORK

PRESIDENT INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ANTHROPOLOGY, COLUMBIA COLLEGE, NEW-YORK,
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PREFACE.

THE scholars in our public schools and colleges should be instructed as to the elements that go to make up a good and useful citizen of our country, and the obligations, civil, social, and political, due to others from them. They should be instructed to yield respect and obedience to the laws, and to hold on with unflinching firmness to the Constitution and the Union of States. They should be taught the love of liberty and order, to walk in the path of patriotism, of fidelity to our country, and of duty to God. This is necessary in order that when they become of adult age they may be prepared to exhibit wisdom in the cabinet; the purest patriotism; the highest integrity, public and private; morals without a stain; and religious feelings without intolerance and without extravagance.

In this little manual of the rights and duties of citizenship I sing the love of country and the pride of country to the youth of both sexes of my country. I teach the need of beating back one's country's enemies, whether they reside in or out of the United States—a most *true* song, to which I hope the hearts of the youth of our country will burst responsive into fiery melody, followed by fiery strokes before long. I teach them

to sing the praises of God. National writers who forsake that business, and, wasting their divinest gifts, sing the praise of party—what shall we say of them? What also shall we say of that class of writers who try to spread the idea that the laborer of our country is related to his employer by bonds of hostility, oppression, and chains of mutual necessity alone, when this is absurdly false and when the facts are that the United States of America is the country of all countries where there are constant, calculable wages and constancy of employment; where the laborer, by temperance, thrift, and industry, can hope to rise to mastership; and where, above all other countries on earth, he is related to his employer by bonds of friendliness and mutual help? This is a country whose national environment is one of education, enlightenment, and character, and the only persons who fail to appreciate this fact and therefore to be contented and happy are those who, owning an anti-social inheritance, would not be contented and happy anywhere on earth; those who exhibit in their lives neither an intense energy, a broad humanity, nor a love and obedience of God. They are our brothers, however, and may they finally accept the great facts of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man!

EDWARD C. MANN.

NEW YORK, AUGUST, 1894.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE object of this little manual is to present a systematic course of instruction embracing a broad patriotism, the rights and duties of citizenship, the rights of property, and the security and sacredness of human life ; to teach the duties of citizens of the United States to their neighbors, to the community, State, and nation, their powers and privileges as wage-earners, capitalists, and as sovereign voters ; to give instruction on the subject of intelligent citizenship ; to teach the relations of employer and employed, of labor and capital. I have endeavored to express myself concisely and by clear thought and rational doctrine as to all that goes to make up a good and useful citizen ; and to the youth of our country and to the National Educational Association I dedicate this work.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Our Country and its Growth.—The Causes of Our National Prosperity.

THE marvelous growth and unique history of our Republic have been due to highly complex and manifold motive forces. Primarily we had the advantage of good “determinative elements” to assist us in our growth. We had an abundant *food-supply*, which is essential to the fullest development of the human powers, physical and mental. We therefore had from the start that muscular strength and endurance, that intellectual clearness and grasp, essential to any country that is to achieve greatness. National culture at once took a long stride in advance; for, unlike some other nations, we had the advantage of obtaining our food almost immediately from natural products, from cultivated products, and by exchange and commerce. The influence of agriculture from the commencement

of our history as a country was most profound and beneficent, as it promoted a settled disposition, the permanence of houses, the habits of regulated labor and foresight, and the preference of peace to war, government to anarchy. It allowed the congregation of large communities and insured the leisure which was necessary to higher intellectual cultivation. From the inception of our history also, we had home purchasers, prepared with desirable objects to offer in exchange for food, and manufactures enabled them to obtain food by exchange and commerce. This great influence on the social life of the nation we enjoyed almost from our earliest history, and it at once permitted men to gather together in great cities, where all are dependent on the distant agriculturist for their daily bread, and the impetus given to the growth of our cities to-day is directly attributable to the successful application of steam to the transportation of food.

We had also the second great "determinative element" in the growth and history of nations: the highest form of marriage, in that we had an enlightened Christian community, who increased the happiness of individuals and developed the noblest qualities of the race by marriage based on personal acquaintance and intelligent affection, with woman in a deservedly high social position.

We had also a *language* of true superiority—a language which in its characteristics corresponds most precisely in its expressions with the logical processes of thought, and which thus favored clear and progressive thinking and prompt comprehension; a language

which has acted on the national mind as a stimulus and an incentive to intellectual pursuits; and a fine national poetry and prose which have reacted directly on the life of the nation.

We have had also one of the main forces of culture in this country in a well and rapidly developed *technology*, or the science of the arts and industries—a domestic industry which has meant national power and individual comfort; arts utilitarian, including tools and utensils, weapons, buildings, clothing, and media of exchange (money); and the esthetic arts, or those designed to affect the senses in an agreeable manner, and by association the emotions and the intellect—such are decorative designs in line and color, sculpture and modeling, music and musical instruments, scents and flavors, and games and festivals; and the arts inspired by the religious sentiment, which have given us our fine churches, cathedrals, and colleges.

We have had also another great “determinative element” to assist our country in its growth and progress: *a government and laws* superior to any in the history of the world; a form of government which, I believe, is destined to be the model for all other countries of the world—a government founded on morality and religious sentiment; a government popular in its foundation and popular in its exercise; a government of high character, because the general moral and intellectual character of the community has been high, because there have been adequate rewards to labor and industry, a share in the public interests, a stake in the community on the part of well-employed and well

paid citizens, who never could have been intelligent and virtuous and at the same time poor and idle; a great government because it has shown that an educated, enlightened community of high character is capable of self-government, and that religious freedom and tolerance do not necessarily produce indifference to religion; a government with a free press for the people, not a government press; a government that has, by the power of its example and the general tone which it has inspired, assisted woman to a high influence on the morals and sentiments of the community in the training and instruction of the young, that has made the American mother the strongest bulwark of public liberty and of the perpetuity of a free Constitution; a safe government, in which public faith is confidently reposed; a government with a strong protecting power in a high and pure judicial branch; a government, not a compact between States, but a government by the whole and for the whole people of the United States; a government whose first object was the preservation of our liberty, this being accomplished by maintaining constitutional restraints and just divisions of political power; a government with a Constitution framed for union and to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, and promote the general welfare," and "to secure the blessings of liberty" to us and to our children—a Constitution the bond of our Union and the security of our liberties—a Constitution made for our good and administered for our good, and, if need be, to be defended against all the powers of the world for our good.

We have had a sixth "determinative element" in our growth and history, namely, *religion* and religious toleration, that has exercised a great influence on our nation, and has molded our community into what it is. Progress is the development of the energies and resources of a nation, and the condition of civilization is where all these energies and resources are developed symmetrically and to a high degree; and we find both progress and civilization in their highest state where we find the acceptance of the Christian religion.

We have had the conditions and momenta of progress to assist us in rapidly becoming a great nation. We have had the growth of wants; racial and national endowments; geographical surroundings; the commingling with other nations, which has prevented us from becoming fossilized and our progress from becoming checked; and the influence of great men, who have made their mark on the history of our country—our Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, John Jay, Clay, Webster, Adams, Choate, Everett, Lincoln, Grant, Horace Greeley, Henry Ward Beecher, Blaine, Phillips Brooks, and many others whose labors were effective because there was a readiness to respond in the national and racial mind at the time—men whose work is their best eulogy, as it has resulted in making our country a great example to other nations in the recognition of the equality of all men before the law, and the right of every people to govern itself under a republican form of government in place of forms of monarchy and aristocracy; in proving that popular institutions founded in equality and the principle of representation

are capable of maintaining governments, able to secure the rights of person, property, and of reputation ; and in giving to us a free representative government, entire religious liberty, improved systems of national intercourse, an unconquerable spirit of free inquiry, a diffusion of knowledge throughout the land, and last, but not least, a judiciary the spotless ermine of whose judicial robes has never been soiled by entertaining opinions hostile to the just powers of the Constitution of the United States of America.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONSTITUTION.

THE Constitution of the United States of America is the fundamental law of our country. It is the bond of our union and the security of our liberties.

It is the duty of every wise and patriotic citizen of the United States to maintain the Constitution, the Union, and the laws. This is his first and highest duty. Disobedience to the laws of the country is unpatriotic and treasonable.

The supreme law of the country consists of the Constitution, acts of Congress passed in pursuance of it, and the public treaties. Congress is the legislature of all the people of the United States. The judiciary of the general Government, or the Supreme Court of the United States, is the judiciary of all the people of the United States. It belongs to Congress and to the courts of the United States to settle the construction of the supreme law of our country in all doubtful cases. They alone can construe and interpret the law to the people, and upon Congress and the courts of the United States rests the right of ultimate decision, which is supreme over the authority of any particular State.

The Constitution of the United States, therefore, is

a government proper, founded on the adoption of the people and creating direct relations between itself and individuals.

No State authority has power to dissolve these relations. Any attempt by a State to do away with or arrest the operation of an act of Congress within her limits, on the ground that, in her opinion, such law is unconstitutional, is an act which in its character and its tendency is revolutionary, unpatriotic, and dangerous to the stability of our American form of government.

The Supreme Court of the United States is always the final interpreter of the supreme law of our country. It is the duty of every citizen of the United States to cherish a respect for the authority, compliance with the laws, and acquiescence in the measures of the Government of the country.

The Constitution of our country secures the full enjoyment of all human rights alike to every citizen of the United States.

The principles of our Government are liberty and equality, established law and order, security for public liberty and private right, a general system of education liberally diffused, the free exercise of every religious creed and opinion, and brotherly love and harmony. This is what the Government of the United States means both to native-born American citizens and to those who come to this country from abroad to reside here as citizens. The protection of life and property, the *habeas corpus*, trial by jury, the right of open trial, are principles of public liberty which the laws secure to every citizen.

The people are the source of all political power in the United States. They can only exercise it by their Representatives. The basis of representation is suffrage, or the right to choose Representatives by voting at each State and national election. This is the manner in which power comes from the people and gets into the hands of conventions, legislatures, courts of law, and the President of the United States.

It is to protect every citizen in his rights of citizenship that the right of suffrage is guarded, protected, and secured against force and against fraud, and that the exercise of the right of suffrage is prescribed by previous law; also that its qualifications, the time and place of its exercise, and the manner of its exercise (always under the supervision of sworn officers of the law) are prescribed by previous law.

The results of each election are certified to the central power by a certain rule, by known public officers, in a clear and definite form, so that every citizen entitled to vote may vote, and that his vote may be sent forward and counted. Every citizen in this manner exercises his part of political power in common with his fellow-citizens.

It follows, therefore, that all good citizens should see that among the candidates for the high offices in the gift of the people of the State and of the United States they give their votes to such as honor and respect the State and the Government of the United States, and to no other.

Although the existence of political parties under our form of government cannot be avoided, people *can*

avoid excesses of party spirit. At each State and national election all good citizens should inquire first into the men and measures that are placed before them for their votes and support, before inquiring to what party the men belong or what party recommends the measures. Every man in voting should use his intelligence, his integrity, his virtue, and his patriotism, and he should realize his deep responsibility as to the effect of his individual vote on the State and on the nation. Will the man for whom I cast my vote administer the government and laws in accordance with the principles of our Constitution, in his high office of Governor of the State or President of the United States? That is the question. Will he do his part wisely and patriotically to secure to our country, during his administration of power, the blessings of a free, enlightened, liberal, and popular government? That is what I want to feel sure of. Will the community under his rule be a well-employed and prosperous community? That is indispensable for every citizen to decide for himself in voting for a candidate for office. No good citizen should ever substitute party for country. He should seek other ends than party ends and other approbation than party approbation in casting his vote. He should think first of good government, of the honest and faithful exercise of all the powers of the Constitution, of the blessings of liberty, and of all the benefits of union.

It is equally necessary that every branch of the Government and that every man in public office should submit to the limitations and restraints of the Con-

stitution and never assume to exercise an authority above the Constitution and the laws. No public officer, acting in the name of the people and by the authority of the people, should ever act or exercise his power without legal right or constitutional sanction. The Government is the agent and servant of the people, not the people's master.

It is the duty of every citizen of the United States to love and reverence and to defend and maintain the Constitution of the country against everything which may weaken, endanger, or destroy it.

American liberty depends upon every good citizen upholding the Constitution and the Union of States of our country; and every man who has the love of country and the pride of country in his heart will uphold them. The people of the United States have a right to good government.

The Government of the United States, created by the people for the people, has a right to unquestioning loyalty and obedience to the Constitution and to the laws from the people. Both have their inalienable rights. We should always remember that the Constitution was framed by the "fathers" of our country "to form a more perfect union, to establish justice, to secure the blessings of liberty, and to insure domestic tranquillity."

It is the duty of citizenship to remember with reverence and admiration our American ancestors, the Pilgrim fathers, who landed at Plymouth from the "Mayflower," and who made the first settlements of New England; to remember the names of Carver and

Bradford, of Standish, Brewster, and Allerton, and to remember that they came for civil and religious liberty and freedom.

It is the duty of citizenship to remember the Revolutionary struggle which resulted in American independence; to remember the names of Warren, Prescott, Putnam, Lafayette, and General Washington; to forever teach our children to emulate the character and the life of Washington; to teach them that that name is synonymous with patriotism, with unspotted purity of public faith, sacred public principle, fidelity and honor, and with love of country and pride of country; to forever teach them to remember with affection and gratitude the founders of our Republic—Adams, Jefferson, Quincy, Hamilton, Clay, Webster, Choate, and John Jay.

It is the duty of citizenship to remember Secession, Civil War, and Reconstruction, which resulted in the emancipation of the slave; and to remember the names of Abraham Lincoln, Charles Sumner, Daniel Webster, General Grant, General Sherman, Henry Ward Beecher, and James A. Garfield, and of all those who gave their lives for the preservation of our Constitution and our Union. We must all remember to properly appreciate our constitutional liberty and our national blessing of a free and united government. We should remember that life, liberty, reputation, and property all depend upon the upright administration of justice, and that our courts of law, independent judges, and enlightened juries are the citadels of our popular liberty.

CHAPTER III.

LABOR.

THE producing cause of all the prosperity of the country is labor. The American people are a laboring people. We live by labor and actual employment. The Constitution protects this labor and industry, and American labor is protected against the injurious competition of foreign labor by the protective principle in national government. The American laboring man is active, spirited, industrious; and a good government secures to labor the means of education and the reasonable certainty of procuring a competent livelihood by industry and sobriety. Every laborer has a stake in the welfare of the community. As the laboring man lays up money and acquires a competence for his family and for his children, the Government protects his property and his right to property. The people come to possess property in this country by industry and by saving. Their property, therefore, is entitled to protection, and its protection or its influence is not hostile to the rights and privileges of any of the people of the State. All citizens should understand that the great reason why communism is not the proper form of society, and why everybody

should not have an equal share of the products of labor, is that men are not alike; they differ in mental power and physical ability; and as the result of the labor of men is different, there is no reason why the wealth of the nation should be equally divided. Every citizen has his rights under the laws of the country. As a wage-earner, the law protects his labor and his earnings. When by industry and frugality he has amassed some money, and he puts this money into business or manufactures or agriculture, and becomes, so to speak, a capitalist, the law protects him in his rights of property and in his rights as an employer, just as it did before in his rights as the employed.

The price of labor in the United States is higher than in any civilized country, and this is the greatest of all proofs of general happiness. Labor in this country is independent and proud. It does not ask the patronage of capital, but capital asks the aid of labor. The protection extended under our laws to capital is as nothing to that which is given to labor. The protective policy of the United States is designed primarily for the protection of labor. It was the pouring in of a flood of foreign manufactures that gave the first impulse toward the adoption of a Constitution for our own protection, and the labor of the whole country has been protected under it ever since. The result of the protection of labor has been to multiply the modes of its employment. Protection has prevented the cheaper labor of Europe from underbidding American labor in everything, and it has prevented overwhelming importations from abroad from break-

ing up American establishments. It has given to labor a steady price and security, and has prevented the reduction of the price of labor. It has protected labor, so that labor has not had employment taken away from it, and so that it has not been driven from its accustomed pursuits. Under our Constitution and our laws we have had a well-employed and a prosperous community that could buy food and clothing, and enjoy good educational advantages for their children, and have happy homes. Under our Constitution and our laws the laboring community have had constant employment and well-paid labor, and have been prosperous, contented, and happy to an extent known to no other laboring community in the civilized world under any other form of government. Every one in the United States has some form of employment that requires personal attention, either of oversight or manual performance—some form of active business. We are Americans and we are laborers.

CHAPTER IV.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORDER.

**Foreigners.—President of the United States.—Common-School System.
Religion.—The Race Question.—The Law.—Arbitration.**

IT is the duty of citizenship to see that there is no tumult, no violence, and no wrong in the exercise of the power by the people; that it shall be exercised only as prescribed by law, by representation—never in masses, in violent popular commotions, setting law at defiance and trampling on the rights of citizens and of the people. Assembled masses cannot put themselves above the law and act by force; neither can individuals incite others to act by force and contrary to law without being punished. If they could we should have no constitutional means of security, and we should be at the mercy of anarchy, revolution, and violence. Prudence, wisdom, and justice all forbid it, for the social and political order of the State would be threatened with overthrow were the people to permit such outrages.

Foreigners—Their Citizenship Duties.

Every foreigner residing in the United States, owes to this country allegiance and obedience to our laws so long as he remains in it, as a duty imposed upon him

by the mere fact of his residence and the temporary protection which he enjoys, and is as much bound to obey our laws as native-born American citizens.

The President of the United States.

It is the duty of citizenship, irrespective of party or party affiliations or ties, to patriotically support the President in all his measures. He represents our domestic interests, our foreign relations, and our honor and character among other nations of the world. He also administers and maintains the Constitution and the Government of our country.

The Common-School System.

It is the duty of citizenship to maintain our public-school system and all our educational agencies, as of the greatest value to the State. On the diffusion of education among the people rests the safety of our free institutions.

Religion.

It is the duty of citizenship to fear God and keep his commandments, and to maintain the Christian ministry and the institutions for church worship. Let nothing extinguish the moral illumination of the Sabbath day in the United States.

The Race Question.

It is the duty of citizenship to remember that there are seven million colored people in the United States,

and that under the influence of education and freedom they will improve as the rest of the human race do, and become good citizens, intelligent and well-to-do. They should be treated as good, loyal, law-abiding citizens who would with equal readiness with the rest of us fight under the stars and stripes to preserve our country if it should be periled by war. They should be protected in all their civil rights.

The Law.

It is the duty of citizenship to remember that every citizen owes the State submission to the laws when regularly pronounced constitutional. Resistance to the laws is revolution or rebellion.

The criminal law restrains the liberty of the few offenders, that the many who do not offend may enjoy their liberty. It punishes to prevent the repetition of crimes. Every unpunished murder takes away from the security of human life. The upright administration of justice renders it necessary that in the office of judge, upon whom rests the responsibility of lives, liberty, and property, there should be spotless integrity and high character.

Arbitration is settling a dispute between nations or individuals by peaceful adjustment instead of by resort to war or to the law. It is always to be preferred whenever possible.

CHAPTER V.

LAWS AGAINST REBELLION AND INSURRECTION IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE Government of the United States has enacted laws to protect itself and its authority as a government, and to protect its authority over those agencies to which, under the Constitution and the laws, it extends governmental regulations. To protect itself and its authority as a government it has enacted that "every person who entices, sets on foot, assists, or engages in any rebellion or insurrection against the authority of the United States or the laws thereof, or gives aid or comfort thereto," and "any two or more persons in any State or Territory who conspire to overthrow, put down, or destroy by force the Government of the United States, or by force to seize, take, or possess any property of the United States contrary to the authority thereof," shall be visited by certain penalties.

"Insurrection is a rising against civil or political authority; the open and active opposition of a number of persons to the execution of law in a city or State."

The Supreme Court of the United States has held that "the laws of the United States forbid, under penalty, any person from obstructing or retarding the

passage of the mail, and make it the duty of the officer to arrest such offenders and bring them before the court. If, therefore, it shall appear that any person or persons have wilfully obstructed or retarded the mail, and that their attempted arrest for such offense has been opposed by such a number of persons as would constitute a general uprising in that particular locality, and as threatens for the time being the civil and political authority, then the fact of an insurrection within the meaning of the law has been established."

Laws against Interference with Commerce.—Criminal Conspiracy against the Laws.

The Supreme Court of the United States holds: "The Constitution places the regulation of commerce between the several States and between the States and foreign nations within the keeping of the United States Government. Anything which is destined to be transported for commercial purposes from one State to another and is actually in transit, and any passenger who is actually engaged in any such interstate commercial transaction, and any car or carriage actually transporting or engaged in transporting such passenger or thing, are the agencies and subject-matter of interstate commerce; and any conspiracy in restraint of such trade or commerce is an offense against the United States. To restrain is to prohibit, limit, confine, or abridge a thing. The restraint may be permanent or temporary. It may be intended to prohibit, limit, or abridge for all time or for a day only. The law draws no distinc-

tion in this respect. Commerce of this character is intended to be free, except subject to regulations by law, at all times and for all periods. Temporary restraint is therefore as intolerable as permanent, and practical restraint by actual physical interference as criminal as that which flows from the arrangements of business and organization. Any physical interference, therefore, which has the effect of restraining any passenger, car, or thing constituting an element of interstate commerce forms the foundation for this offense.

“But to complete this offense, as also that of conspiracy to obstruct the mails, there must exist in addition to the resolve or purpose the element of criminal conspiracy.

Criminal Conspiracy Defined.

“What is criminal conspiracy? If it shall appear to you that any two or more persons corruptly or wrongfully agreed with each other that the trains carrying the mails and interstate commerce should be forcibly arrested, obstructed, and restrained, such would clearly constitute a conspiracy. If it shall appear to you that two or more persons corruptly or wrongfully agreed with each other that the employees of the several railroads carrying the mails and interstate commerce should quit, and that successors should, by threats, intimidation, or violence, be prevented from taking their places, such would constitute a conspiracy.

“The railroads carrying the mails and interstate commerce have a right to the service of each of their employees until each lawfully chooses to quit, and any

concerted action upon the part of others to demand or insist, under any effective penalty or threat, upon their quitting, to the injury of the mail service or the prompt transportation of interstate commerce, is a conspiracy unless such demand or insistence is pursuant of a lawful authority conferred upon them by the men themselves, and is made in good faith in the execution of such authority. The demand and insistence, under effective penalty or threat, and injury to the transportation of the mails or interstate commerce being proved, the burden falls upon those making the demand or insistence to show lawful authority and good faith in its execution.

“If it appears to you, therefore, that any two or more persons, by concert, insisted or demanded, under effective penalties and threats, upon men quitting their employment, to the obstruction of the mails or interstate commerce, you may inquire whether they did these acts as strangers to these men, or whether they did them under the guise of trustees or leaders of an association to which these men belonged. And if the latter appears, you may inquire whether their acts and conduct in that respect were in faithful and conscientious execution of their supposed authority, or were simply a use of that authority as a guise to advance personal ambition or satisfy private malice.

“There is honest leadership among these our laboring fellow-citizens, and there is doubtless dishonest leadership. You should not brand any act of leadership as done dishonestly or in bad faith unless it clearly so appears. But if it does so appear, if any person is

shown to have betrayed the trust of these toiling men, and their acts fall within the definition of crime as I have given it to you, it is alike the interest, the pleasure, and the duty of every citizen to bring them to swift and heavy punishment.

Law must be Vindicated.

“I wish, in conclusion, to impress upon you the fact that the present emergency is to vindicate law. If no one has violated the law under the rules I have laid down, it needs no vindication; but if there has been such violation, there should be quick, prompt, and adequate indictment.

“I confess that the problems which are made the occasion or pretext for the present disturbances have not received the consideration they deserve. It is our duty as citizens to take them up and by candid and courageous discussion ascertain what wrongs exist and what remedies can be applied. But neither the existence of such problems nor the neglect of the public hitherto to adequately consider them justifies the violation of law or the bringing on of general lawlessness. Let us first restore peace and punish the offenders of the law, and then the atmosphere will be clear to think over the claims of those who have real grievances. First vindicate the law. Until that is done no other questions are in order.”

CHAPTER VI.

NATIONAL AND STATE GOVERNMENT.

THE Congress of the United States consists of the Senate and House of Representatives.

The Senate is composed of two members from each State. In most States they are elected by the votes of the Legislature.

The members of the House of Representatives are elected by the people of each State.

All measures which are to become laws must be passed by both Senate and House of Representatives. The bills are then sent to the President, and if approved by him become law.

There are several executive departments of the national Government, and the heads of these departments are cabinet officers or advisers and counselors of the President as to the whole work of the administration. There is a Secretary of State; Secretary of the Treasury; Secretary of War; a Postmaster-General; Secretary of the Navy; Secretary of the Interior; and Secretary of Agriculture; and we have also an Attorney-General.

The Secretary of State conservatively guards over our relations with other nations and sees that they remain

undisturbed by any serious controversy. He adjusts any complicating and threatening differences that may arise with other countries. He negotiates commercial agreements relating to reciprocal trade with other countries. He takes especial care to secure markets for American farm products, in order to relieve the great underlying industry of our country of the depression which the lack of an adequate foreign market for our surplus often brings. He also takes especial care to make an opening for manufactured products, so as to augment the export trade of the country. He opens new lines of trade and thus helps commerce, agriculture, and manufactures. He watches over the political relations and trade relations existing between the United States and foreign countries, and preserves mutual respect and confidence and a friendly intercourse and peace.

The Secretary of the Treasury takes care of the state of the public revenues; reduces the public debt as far as possible; watches over what is paid out for pensions; sees that the revenues are collected and the expenditures for all purposes are paid and the surplus properly used; makes estimates based upon existing laws and a continuance of existing business conditions; sees that public confidence remains unshaken in the purpose and ability of the Government to maintain the parity of all our money issues whether coin or paper; takes care that the demand for gold in Europe does not drain our national treasury of gold, etc.

The Secretary of War watches over the reorganization of the infantry and artillery arms of the service;

keeps the organization of our small standing army on the most approved basis; sees that new army-posts have the proper strategic relations to our sea-coast and to our northern and southern boundaries; works for the organization and enlargement of the Bureau of Military Information, and for our armament and coast defenses.

The Postmaster-General sees that the great business of the Post-office Department is conducted efficiently and progressively. He watches over the increase in post-office revenues, the number of post-offices, and the miles of mail-carriage. He sees that new hamlets and towns have new offices and that new routes are established for the extension of border settlements. He extends to the post-offices of the larger cities the merit system of promotion. He contracts for new ocean mail-routes to develop our merchant marine upon the sea.

The Secretary of the Navy presides over the construction of our new navy; he increases the navy, that we may become, as we should, a great sea power. He sees that we have the best capacity in construction, in ordnance, and in everything involved in the building, equipping, and sailing of great war-ships. He sees that the war-ships have the best defensive plates of the highest resisting power; that we have the best torpedoes and armor-piercing shells, and the best powder and projectiles. He builds up a strong naval militia as a powerful influence for peace and a sense of security.

The Secretary of the Interior presides over the taking of the national census; the opening of areas of new lands to settlement; the cessions of Indian lands for

settlement; the general land-office; issues agricultural patents to settlers upon the public lands, which give them an assured title to their entries, which is of great benefit in developing the new States and the Territories; watches over the Indian Bureau, seeing that the Indians are civilized and educated; and takes care of the disabled soldiers.

The Secretary of Agriculture presides over and looks out for an enlarged usefulness and progressive work in this important department. He breaks down, wherever he can, restrictions to the free introduction of our meat products in the countries of Europe. He works for increased exportation, and has careful inspections made to exclude from all cargoes diseased or suspected cattle. He also exercises careful supervision of all cattle brought into this country, by inspection and quarantine, to prevent diseases being introduced which would injure our own cattle industry. He works for large agricultural exports and for the benefit of the American farmer. He suggests new use of various products as articles of human food, and watches for large and important markets for our American products.

The Attorney-General conducts the work of the department of justice. He secures from courts decisions giving increased protection to the officers of the United States, and brings some classes of crime that escape local cognizance and punishment into the tribunals of the United States. He watches over the claims pending against the Government in the Court of Appeals. He gives advice in the cases where applications for

executive clemency are presented in behalf of persons convicted in United States courts and given penitentiary sentences. He is necessarily a man of great professional skill.

A New Department Needed.—There is an urgent need for a national Department of the Public Health, which shall have a secretary, who should also be a cabinet officer, to watch over the lives and the health of citizens of the United States. Quarantine relations should be uniform at all our ports. Under the Constitution they are plainly within the exclusive federal jurisdiction, when and so far as Congress shall legislate. The subject of protecting the lives and the health of our citizens should be taken into national control, and adequate power given the President to protect the people against the invasion of cholera, yellow fever, typhus fever, etc. The citizens have a right to demand this reform.

The President of the United States stands as the sentinel of the people over their rights and liberties. He watches over the situation of the whole country. He carefully scrutinizes the general conditions affecting the commercial and industrial interests of the United States. He works for a high degree of prosperity and a general diffusion of the comforts of life for the whole people. He advises with his cabinet officers as to their department work. This country has been blessed by God with a succession of good Presidents who have worked to keep our country great, glorious, and prosperous, respected both at home and abroad.

The Legislature of each State consists of the State

Senate and the Assembly. The members of both bodies are elected by the people. The modes of these State elections are different in different States. Men are sent to each State Legislature to make the laws for that State.

The Judiciary.

Each State has its own judiciary system, and this varies in different States.

PART II.

CHAPTER VII.

PERSONAL LIFE OF CITIZENS.

The Elements that go to make up the Most Useful Citizen.

IT is the duty of a citizen to lead a life of intense ambition and energy, of broad humanity, and of love and obedience to God.

To read pure and good books which will teach him the grand traits of great men.

To live as a citizen, directing his life and actions with reference to those among whom he lives.

To be ready to do his part as a citizen of the political community in which he lives.

To remember that all men are his brothers.

He must find out, as a young man, what he has a talent for, and then bend all his energies to the accomplishment of that object in life ; and he must have high ideals, i.e., good and virtuous ends of life.

He must be honest, truthful, and just.

He must observe moderation in all things.

He must labor to improve himself and others. ✓

He must have modesty and a manly character. ✓

He must have piety, beneficence, and simplicity in his way of living.

He should be able to endure labor and to work with his own hands. ✓

He should be benevolent and cheerful in his disposition.

He should have the power of readily accommodating himself to all.

He should be a firm believer in our Government, founded on the principle of equal rights and equal freedom of speech. ✓

He must learn self-government.

He must have an unchangeable resolution in the things which he determines to do after due deliberation, an undeviating firmness of character, and a love of labor and perseverance.

He must have a habit of careful inquiry in all matters of deliberation.

He must always act conformably to the institutions of his country, i.e., the United States of America. ✓

He must love every star and every stripe in the flag of our country, and he must be always ready to defend the flag at his country's call.

He must exhibit prudence and economy in the management of his own affairs, and of any that are intrusted to his administration.

He must be a good son.

As he reaches adult age he must choose a woman of high and pure womanhood for his wife.

He must be a good husband and father.

He must be a self-centered man, not disturbed by externals.

He must know the world thoroughly, and yet keep himself pure and unspotted from the world. ✓

He must reverence the good.

He must exhibit in his life and character justice, temperance, and fortitude.

He should never break a promise or lose his self-respect.

He should have gentleness, manliness, fidelity, simplicity, and contentment.

He should follow the dictates of reason seriously, vigorously, and calmly.

He must observe the laws of health and cultivate a sound and vigorous body. Early rising and retiring, free bathing, sleeping in well-ventilated rooms at night, temperance in eating, the avoidance of alcoholic stimulants as a beverage, and the avoidance of violent passions will keep most persons sound and healthy and long-lived. Alcohol is a *poison*, not a *food*.

He must uphold the family, the church, and the State, and be a true man in his relations with all these integral parts of the nation.

He will reverence God and help men. ✓

He will be pious without being superstitious.

He will uphold religion, learning, liberty, and law, as the four great forces of our civilization.

He will encourage science, letters, and art. ✓

He will be true to himself, to his country, and to his God. ✓

He will do what he does with reference to the good of mankind.

He will order his life well in every act.

Whether he represents labor or capital his first thought will be the good of his country.

He will be ever ready to strive for national health, wealth, and reputation, and make his every act a component part of social life.

He will be simple and he will be good.

He will seek to guard the State from harm, and will uphold law and order as against socialism and anarchy.

He will train up his children to be good citizens, and strive to make them good and wise.

He will teach his children to do something for the general interest and to uphold the Union of States in our country.

He will exhibit strength, nerve, and courage.

He will teach his children, as future citizens, if a thing is not right not to do it; if it is not true, not to say it.

He will teach them to do nothing inconsiderately or without a purpose, and to make their acts refer to a social end.

He will make good citizens of them by rearing them to do justice and to tell the truth, and to exhibit energy, love, and faith.

The duty of citizenship in relation to children is to teach them purity and excellence of character before intellectual culture.

A man may be poor and yet have character in its highest form, and the most useful citizen of the United

States is he who has character of the highest form. He is worth more to the Republic than a man of wealth who has with his wealth corruption, luxury, and vice.

The combination of character of the highest form, a splendidly cultured mind, and wealth, is a combination of the highest use to the State and to the nation; but a man can be a most useful citizen without wealth, which is often a curse instead of a blessing.

In emergencies of State and nation we want men of honest, manly hearts and high moral character.

A man may mold the character of his country and yet have no wealth. If he has a high character, the State may well regard him as one of its most useful and noblest citizens.

The duty of citizenship is to elect men to the seats of government of State and nation, to make our laws and to administer them, who will hold with undeviating adherence to truth, integrity, and uprightness. If they are men of splendid education and wealth, all the better; but primarily it is the duty of citizenship to insist that they shall be useful citizens of the country, men of high character. Such men will have the esteem and confidence of their fellow-citizens, and make themselves felt at home and abroad.

Any country is rich who possesses citizens rich in virtues.

The State needs men who will inspire respect and command confidence.

The State looks to life, character, and behavior, before birth, parentage, and education.

The country wants men of reliableness of character as statesmen.

Intellect alone in statesmen will not make a nation respected either at home or abroad.

Character and intellect combined in statesmen give to them a personal influence which is felt throughout the country, and their thoughts and acts live after them. Such a man was George Washington, the father of our country.

Great workers and great thinkers, men of industry, of integrity, of high principle, and of sterling honesty of purpose, are the corner-stone of the Republic, and constitute its true aristocracy.

They stamp their mind on the nation.

They inspire the lives of the citizens of our country, and influence its history.

The richest legacy a citizen can leave to his country is the example of a stainless life, of a great, honest, pure, noble character.

The names and memoirs of such men never die, and national life is quickened by them and by their example.

The sum of individual character makes national character.

The most useful citizens of the United States are those who invigorate and elevate their country by doing their duty truthfully and manfully, and live honest, sober, and upright lives, making the best of the opportunities for improvement that our country affords; men who cherish the memory and example of the fathers of our country.

With such citizens who can limit the influence our country can exert on the destiny of the world?

With such citizens America will live forever, because she deserves to live ; and the genius of America, whom it is the pride of our sculptors to represent as wearing the Phrygian cap of liberty on her brow, and trampling upon broken chains with her feet, and bearing aloft the ægis of eternal justice, will never surrender her children to national death, but will rest secure on the character of her people, and on their industry, frugality, energy, and noble patriotism, on a national character formed of honor, order, obedience, virtue, and loyalty.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DUTY OF CITIZENSHIP IN SHOWING SYMPATHY WITH NEW REPUBLICS.

**The New Republic of Hawaii.—A Typical Example of the Spirit of Freedom
that will not be Enslaved by Tyranny.**

THIS new Republic, born on July 4, 1894, lies in mid-Pacific, on the northern verge of the tropics, with a climate tempered by the balmy trade-winds, in the direct line of traffic between every principal port of the Pacific Ocean, and with a wonderfully even temperature, magnificent mountain scenery, stupendous volcanoes, a wealth of tropical vegetation, great material prosperity, and an advanced civilization. It is at once the commercial and strategic key of the Pacific Ocean, and to all intents and purposes it is an American republic. It was converted to Christianity many years ago by American missionaries, and there is an enormous preponderance of the American element in Hawaii. The estimated value of all property owned by native Hawaiians is not over \$3,000,000, while Americans own over \$25,000,000. Over 92 percent. of the total foreign trade during 1890 was with our country. Practically all the exports were to, and 75 percent. of the imports were from, the United States, and 75 per-

cent. of the foreign carrying-trade was done by American vessels. The Hawaiian Islands, now united under one Republic, number eight inhabited islands, with an area of 6740 square miles, or 500 miles larger than the combined area of Connecticut and Rhode Island. Honolulu is the capital city of Hawaii. It is situated on the south side of the island of Oahu, and is the principal seaport of the country. Its population is 23,000. The business portion is well built with brick and stone buildings. Private residences are built of wood. It has 67 miles of streets and drives. It has 15 miles of street-railway. It is lighted by electric lights. It has 1500 telephones. It has a State prison, public insane asylum, public hospital, old folks' home, and public library and museum; also a fine Y. M. C. A. building. It has churches, first-class private schools, and a good public-school system, all children under fourteen being compelled to attend school. It has a good waterworks system, and a fire department equipped with the latest steam fire-engines. There are a large yard and lawn, and a profusion of flowers and palms, round each house. Honolulu is a city of homes. The society is refined, cultured, and cosmopolitan. President Dole has been placed by the people of Hawaii as a sentinel over their rights, liberty, and happiness. This new Republic received its birth from the usurpations of tyranny. Its Constitution is framed upon truly republican principles, and is designed to provide for the common protection and the general welfare of the people of Hawaii. Every step by which the people of Hawaii have advanced to the character of an independent nation has

been distinguished by some token of God's agency. The foundations of their national policy are laid in the virtuous principles of private morality. May they ever enjoy union, peace, and liberty! May their new-born Republic in its government mete out equal and exact justice to all men; exercise peace, commerce, and friendship with all nations; preserve their Constitution as their sheet-anchor; keep their people up to the highest test of self-government—frequent elections—as a peaceable remedy for all abuses, with an absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority. The present government of Hawaii is the independent offspring of the popular will of the people. President Dole and his cabinet are in power now, to administer a Constitution emanating immediately from the people, and trusted by the people to their administration; and may God bless them, and give them the wisdom to govern the young Republic well! May the people of Hawaii preserve their Constitution, and see their happiness, prosperity, and renown grow with its growth and strengthen with its strength! We the citizens of the United States bid our new sister-republic God-speed.

CHAPTER IX.

THE DUTY OF CITIZENSHIP TO HONOR OUR REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN, TO RECOGNIZE THEIR INFLUENCE ON CIVILIZATION.

“But the woman is the glory of the man.”

IN the days of antiquity, in the middle ages, in the days of the Renaissance, and in modern times, representative women have been the chief factors in the civilization of the world. The country is upheld by good women. The best in us we owe to our mothers and the home influences with which we were environed. The good mothers are the bulwark of a republic, as they convey their qualities to their children, the future citizens of the State. The quality of woman makes the career of man, and he should glorify her because she composes him. Every child that sets sail on the ocean of life gets its chart from woman. Man's prenatal life is girt all round with a zodiac of womanhood, and mental and moral force goes out from her whether she will or not, and profits, with an electric touch, the world. The best armorial coat is the prenatal environment of a good woman. It is woman who, by communication with the Divine Intelligence during the prenatal period

of man, introduces moral truths into the world. Woman is the subtile, irresistible, upward force of civilization. Born of a great woman our thoughts and manners easily become great, and man readily arrives at the intellectual and moral elevation of his mother. Women are the saviors from the errors of a fatal conformity to the world. They modify the conception of personal life and duty in man. They shed their own abundant moral beauty on all mankind through the medium of their offspring. There is true ascension for civilization in the love of woman. The life of woman is the real biography of the genius of humanity. The key to the power of the greatest men is the quality of the mind of woman, and this quality descends. Man is but the exponent of the mind of woman. A great man becomes transparent with the light of his first cause, his prenatal environment. The energy, love, and faith of the world; the intense ambition, the broad humanity, and the love and obedience to God, which go to make up a perfect life, civilization owes to woman in a great measure. The great men of all civilized nations are the posterity of woman, and are tinged with her mind. Woman is the architect of civilization, and we should reserve all our gratitude for her. Woman puts all nations under contribution, supplements this with communion with the Divine Intelligence, and gives to the world a Shakespeare, a Bacon, a Milton, an Edmund Burke, a Plato, a Napoleon, a Washington, or a Henry Clay. The biography of man is interior. We are to account for his supreme elevation in the intellectual history of woman. She impresses his primary form of

thought with her seal; she gives him his first unconscious strength; and man's after-work, the great paintings and sculptures and the colossal architecture of the world, rightfully is due to woman. To her is due the work of talent, of learning, and of genius. She gives to the world a Zoroaster, a Moses, a Luther, a Newton, a Copernicus, or a Galileo, and is glorified in her work. The great schools and universities, the literature of Greece and Rome, Oxford and Cambridge, Eton, Rugby, Harvard, and Yale, are due to woman. A French woman gave Rochambeau to stand by the side of Washington when Cornwallis gave up his sword. Catherine II. joined the so-called League of Neutrals, and the result of her act was to complete the discouragement of the British ministers, to break the stubborn will of George III., and to compel the acknowledgment of American independence. Woman gave us Alexander II. to take stand in our behalf at a crisis when our national existence was at stake, the French emperor having put forth all his influence at Westminster to persuade the British Government to join him in intervening on the side of the Southern Confederacy. Then it was that the Czar who freed the Russian serfs caused his ambassadors at Paris and London to announce that if France and England undertook to assure the destruction of our American Union, and to perpetuate the régime of slavery in the Western hemisphere, they would find Russia arrayed against them; and deeds succeeded diplomatic warnings, in that one Russian fleet proceeded under sealed orders to our harbor, and another to the Bay of San Francisco. To a Russian woman

who gave the world Alexander II. the American Republic owes a debt of gratitude she will not forget.

Next to Executive Deity comes woman. She regenerates the world by the balanced souls she brings into it, and the fairest fortune that can befall man is a good woman to love him. She makes his home, his church, his country. She is his supreme good. She purifies and reanimates his soul. The society of a cultured woman is a liberal education. The origin of good organic character and disposition in man is woman. Man's best works are but the reflection of the passion of the soul of woman for all beauty and goodness. Man, in proportion to his intellect, will admit her transcendent claims. Woman discloses, in every age and civilization, the germ of her expansion. She creates the State in the citizen; she is the ethicointellectual force of every republic. The prenatal existence of man born of a representative woman is the environment of an atmosphere of great ideas, and habits proceed from environment. Do we wonder that post-natally he exhibits great talent or virtue or genius? With more reason might we wonder if he did not. Nature is always like herself. The creative force of woman fills earth and heaven with the chant of a Phillips Brooks, and glorifies the Divinity which she worships.

Anthusa, a woman of rare Christian virtues, passes through the mystery of generation, and a mind of a coequal vigor of understanding and imagination is developed, and a Chrysostom, whose name has been a synonym for Christian eloquence for more than fifteen hundred years, is given to the world.

Monica, a woman of remarkable piety and strength of mind, becomes the interpreter of the divine to materialistic, iconoclastic man by giving to the world a St. Augustine, the most intellectual of all the fathers of the church.

Woman introduces the divine in nature into the world to dignify life and impart intellectual and moral oxygen to a vitiated atmosphere charged with the carbonic acid of materialism, skepticism, and idolatry, and Christ is born of the Virgin, and the whole future of the world is changed by a Saviour and pure, ethical lawgiver, who brings to man a love which in its genesis, fruition, and effect is everlasting life. The feminine in woman has become the virility of the Christian religion; woman, therefore, is not only the sunshine and music of life—she is the might and dignity of life, her power consisting in the transmission of the idea of absolute, eternal truth.

Woman, sweet in her self-surrender, becomes grand as she ascends to the highest grounds, and in a self-surrender to the moral sentiments becomes the beacon-light for all civilization.

Women of high culture and character are more than equal companions of man. The glory of the American home is the dignity of character of American women. What is grandest and truest in a republic is the holy dignity of the souls of the women of that republic, and no wise statesman will ever ignore that fact in estimating the forces of a nation. A cultivated woman is more than a tender companion. She shares a proud equality with man in influence and in powers of mind and heart,

and no man is capable of inspiring and guiding society—I use the word in its highest sense—as woman can. The cultivated women and the gifted men make up the highest society of any nation. The dignity of the higher nature of woman, and the depths of a woman's soul in her loftiest aspirations, it is given but to few men to know. May this not be the reason, possibly, why her amusements are often trivial, her taste at times vitiated, her education sometimes neglected, her rights generally violated, and her aspirations scorned? The true position of woman is that of the guardian angel of man, and it is due to her to give her, if she wishes them, greater and broader personal and property rights. In favoring woman man honors not only her, but himself. The power of a man is very slight as compared with the power of a woman who unites high intellectual and moral culture with physical beauty. Such a woman is a perpetual benediction to the society in which she moves. Woman is capable of a lofty friendship and a divine sympathy understood by few, and she prefers an exalted life and can give strength, encouragement, and wisdom to man. If woman in the nineteenth century asks for a greater intellectual freedom and a deeper sympathy, give them to her. Representative women have always wanted them, and the reason is not far to seek: they are superior in the radiance of their souls and the treasures of their minds to most men—in friendship, more exalted; in love, more spiritual; in heroism, as fearless; in religious enthusiasm, far superior; as sovereigns, as wise, enlightened, and patriotic; in politics, with as clear perception and in-

tellest; in society, more inspiring; in literature, as brilliant; as an educator, the best. Woman commands our respect, our admiration, and our love, and we recognize in her a superior loftiness of character and a greater purity of mind than man's. The most fortunate woman, we think, is she who, spared the rough work of man, adorns a happy American home with her intellect and her beauty and her love; worshiped alike by her husband, to whom her physical beauty is secondary to the brilliance of her mind and the radiance of her soul, and who enters into her loftiest aspirations, and by her children, who almost idolize her as she forms them by her tender solicitude to a career of exalted worth and greatness as good citizens of the United States.

Mark what the greatest men have said of woman:

Abraham Lincoln said: "All I am, or can be, I owe to my angel mother."

Lord Beaconsfield said: "Nothing is of so much importance and of so much use to a young man entering life as to be well criticized by women."

Tennyson said:

"Lo, now, what hearts have men! they never mount
As high as woman in her selfless mood."

Henry Ward Beecher said: "You that live long enough will see women vote, and when you see women voting you will see less lying, less brutality, and more public spirit, heroism, and romance, in public affairs."

Goethe said: "If thou wouldst hear what is fitting and seemly, inquire of noble women."

J. Stuart Mill said: "Women have shown fitness for

the highest social relations exactly in proportion as they have been admitted to them."

Plato said: "Should not this sex which we condemn to obscure duties be destined to functions the most noble and elevated?"

Ruskin says: "No man ever lived a right life who had not been chastened by a woman's love, strengthened by her courage, and guided by her discretion."

CHAPTER X.

OUR REPUBLIC—HER CITIZENS AND HER NEEDS.

Religion, Learning, Liberty, Law—the Four Great Forces of Civilization.

ONE of the subdivisions of ethnology is *Government and Laws*, by which the different races are controlled and their prosperity developed; and it is to the subject of the government, laws, and prosperity of our Republic and her citizens that I ask your attention. We also find under the head of ethnology *Religion*, and a distinguished ethnologist has said that against men and nations under control of doctrines of this character the skeptical Greek, the materialistic Roman, and the effete Persian were as certain to succumb as though their downfall had been written on their temples by a divine hand.

Professor Max Müller says: "It is language and religion that make a people, but religion is even a more powerful agent than language. Progress is the development of the energies and resources of a nation, and the condition of civilization is where all these energies and resources are developed symmetrically and to a high degree; and we find both progress and civilization in their highest state where we find the acceptance of

the Christian religion." The greatest men that this country has ever produced have been churchmen of one denomination or another—Washington, Webster, Clay, Choate, and Everett. All history shows that religion has always had an awakening and stimulating influence upon the intellectual powers. It is impossible that a nation should ever strive to imitate that which is its best and not actually grow toward something which is really better. We may be sure that as a teacher of ethics religion would not so early and in so many instances have become associated with government had it not been seen that the duties of man to man gained in observance through this connection. Even the faiths of the lower races have, in my opinion, acted as a lever, lifting them toward a higher ethical life. A perfected social rule is necessary and good; literature, music, and art are necessary and good; but religion is absolutely necessary to the symmetrical development of any nation, in accordance with the laws of progress, up to a complete civilization. Alexander of Macedon and Julius Cæsar; Confucius and Mohammed; Phidias and Raphael; Plato and Bacon; Homer and Shakespeare, all availed themselves of the receptivity to great thoughts and ambitions in the national and racial mind at the time to make their labors effective; and to-day the wisest and most far-sighted statesmen of our Republic will work together to teach the people that religion, learning, liberty, and law are the four great forces of civilization. The world to-day is going through a great process of evolution, which recognizes the equality of all men before the law, and the right of

every people to govern itself; the forms of monarchy and aristocracies will yield to republican governments, and international laws and arbiters will do away with wars and the necessity for maintaining standing armies; and religion must be and is the great conservative principle by which, during this evolutionary period, social order and a perfected social rule shall be maintained, and upon which the destinies of republics yet unborn will in a great measure depend.

History of Our Republic's Politics.

When Niobe saw her fair sons and daughters falling under the swift darts of the angry gods she wept herself to stone; but the genius of America belies her symbols, she suppresses her aspirations, she opens the gates of the coming centuries to the advent of a remediless political bondage at the hands of the official or machine politicians, who care nothing for truth or convictions, while they have a ravenous appetite for distinction and provender. Would we could awaken from the dead the once great and accomplished leaders who now sleep in honored graves! But no exigencies of state will ever again awaken the solemn eloquence of Webster, nor will the clarion voice of Clay ever again summon his lieges to the battle; neither can we recall the model Democrats of the nation: Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration of Independence; Madison, who was one of the ablest expounders of the Constitution; or Macon, who tolerated no injustice in legislation. The ambition and hope of the fathers of our yet young Republic,

with her future in her own hands, was that she might see the States which were soon to become the children of her family growing up about her in prosperity, love, and vigor. She could watch over their cradles and keep them from harm; she could nourish them with manly strength; she could form them by her wise and tender solicitude to a career of exalted worth and greatness. A new page in the history of mankind appeared to be opened—a page unblotted by the bloodstains of tyranny which mark the rubrics of the past, and destined to be written over only by the records of an ever-maturing nobleness and grandeur. This was the hope of the fathers of our Republic, who laid the beams of her habitation deep in the principles of virtuous freedom, and bequeathed to her the heroic precedent of single-hearted devotion to justice and right. All honor to Abraham Lincoln and the American people, that we have rescued the land to freedom from slavery. Let us now rescue the Republic from machine politics, and perpetuate, as far as we in this generation can, for centuries to come, the early virtues of our Republic, which were marvelous in their dignity and force. The earliest parties known to our history were those of the colonial times, when the grand debate as to the rights of the colonies was getting under way and all men took sides either as Whigs or Tories. They had imported their distinctive names and to some extent their distinctive principles from the mother-country, from the iron times of Cromwell and the Puritans; but in the progress of the controversy, as it often happens, they were led upon wholly new and vastly broader

grounds of dispute than they had at first dreamed. The little squabble as to the limits and reaches of the imperial jurisdiction expanded into a war for national existence, nay, for the rights of humanity; and what was at first a violent talk only about stamp duties and taxes on tea, mean and trivial even in its superficial aspects, concealed the noblest political theories, the sublimest political experiments, that had yet been recorded in the annals of our race. The Whigs of the Revolution in crushing the Tories of that day touched the secret spring of a new creation. They gave to the world a new idea, the American idea; the conception of a state founded upon the inherent freedom and dignity of the individual man. It seemed as if, gathering out of the ages all the aspirations of great and noble souls, all the yearnings of oppressed peoples, they had concentrated them into one grand act of emancipation. They actualized the dreams of time, and in the latest age of the world and on a new continent introduced, as they fondly supposed, that reign of heavenly justice which the primitive golden ages had faintly foreshadowed, which patriots had so struggled and sighed for in vain, and which the political martyrs of every clime had welcomed only in beatific vision. It was this patriot party of the Revolution which gave the inspiration and impulse to the nation, which formed its character and sentiment and erected the standard of opinion designed for some years at least to be the guide in all movements. It fired the national mind by the warmth of its convictions, or rather by the fiery earnestness with which it fought its way to success,

into the single thought of democratic freedom, which has been the ground and substance of our national unity. The medley of settlers, chance-wafted hitherward from the several corners of Europe, like seeds borne by the winds, were nourished by it into an organic whole, and have since been retained by its original influences, under all diversities of constitution, climate, and interest, in the coherence and uniformity of a national being. We are therefore infinitely indebted to our ancestors, whose sublime thought of a free state, an inspiration greater than their knowledge, has been the fruitful germ of our best inward and outward life. No other people have had so grand a national origin, for we were born in a disinterested war for rights and not for territory, and under the stimulus of an idea which still transcends the highest practical achievements of our race. It has been the greatness, the predominance, the profound inherency of this original American idea which, forcing general conviction, has produced the uniformity of our later parties, and confined their divisions to transient or trivial and personal differences. But there is also another cause for that uniformity, in the fact that as societies advance in the career of civilization their political divisions are less marked, but more subtle, in principle, and less gross, but more indirect, in the display of animosity and feeling. The progress of nations consists, or should consist, in the simplification and reduction of the machinery of government, with which politics has chiefly to do, and the consequent extinction of politicians, who become more and more a pernicious class; with, at the

same time, a continuous aggrandizement of society itself, of its industry, its arts, its local improvements, and its freedom as well as order. Politicians for the most part are puny and contemptible specimens as statesmen. The most natural and the most permanent of our past political divisions arose out of the peculiar structure of the Federal Government, the nature and extent of its jurisdiction, and its relations to the States. As soon as the Constitution went into effect the differences which had almost defeated its ratification by the people were developed into strong and positive party hostilities. The Federalists and the Anti-Federalists took possession of the political field, and the noise of their conflicts sounded through many years, giving a sting not only to the debates of the Senate, but embittering the intercourse of domestic life and leaving deep scars of prejudice on the reputation of eminent men as well as in the minds of their descendants. The mere disputes as to the authority of the general Government might not, perhaps, have led to such earnest and envenomed battles at the outset if they had not been complicated, especially under the leadership of Jefferson and Hamilton, with the profounder questions of individual rights just then agitating the Old World with an intensity of feeling which amounted to frenzy. Hamilton, a man of talent, bred in camps, distrustful of the masses, an admirer of the British constitution, and accustomed to rule, was disposed to rely upon the strong arm in government, and may be regarded as the representative of the sentiment of law; while Jefferson, on the other hand, a man of

genius, self-confident, generous, sanguine, tolerant of theories, an iconoclast if not a teacher of the French school of manners and thought, leaned to the spontaneous action of the people, and was the representative of liberty.

Thus the party of State Rights and the party of Liberty came to be identified, and took the name after a time of the Democratic-Republican party, while Federalism, or the doctrine of a strong central government, jumped in naturally with the doctrine of law and order. There was a double pressure of tendencies separating the two parties and intensifying their hatreds, and in the exacerbations of the times inducing them to accuse each other respectively of tyranny and licentiousness. A Federalist, in the opinion of the Republicans of those days, was only a monarchist in disguise, watching his opportunity to strangle the infant liberties of his country in the cradle, and to restore the emancipated colonies to their dependence upon Great Britain; while the Federalist retorted the generous imputation of his adversary, by calling him a Jacobin, a scoundrel, and a demagogue, eager to uproot the foundations of order and let loose the lees and scum of French infidelity and French immorality upon society. We at this day, looking through the serener atmosphere of history, know that they were both mistaken in their extreme opinions, and that they were both good patriots after all, necessary to each other, as it now appears, in tempering the dangerous excesses which might have followed the unchecked predominance of either, and in giving a more uniform and

stable action to our untried political system. In all the subsequent changes of parties, the distinction of Federalist and Anti-Federalist has been maintained in theory at least, and it is a distinction that will pass away only with the final establishment of the truth.

During the War of 1812–15 the Federalists, as they were termed, were the most vigorous opponents of the use of power by the general Government, and their most offensive acts, the proceedings of the Hartford Convention, were nothing else than an attempt, as it was deemed, to arrest and restrain the encroachments of the central authority upon the rights and interests of the separate States; while, on the other hand, the most enormous exercise of that authority—the acquisition of Louisiana by Jefferson, the suppression of South Carolina nullification by Jackson, the annexation of Texas by Tyler—has been resorted to by the leaders of the so-called Democratic or Anti-Federalist party. Indeed, so little consistency has been exhibited by parties in this respect that we have all observed that, in general, whatever party was in possession of the Federal Government has been disposed to push the use of its functions to the utmost practicable verge, while the party out of power has opposed this use and assumed the virtue of continence.

The primary idea of our institutions was, as we have seen, that of a free democratic Republic. The liberty and equality of the people was the animating spirit of our Revolution, and the inspiring genius of the constitutional structure to which it gave rise. But among the States which formed the elements of the Union there

were some not strictly democratic and scarcely republican. There were aristocracies or oligarchies built upon a diversity of races. Their political and social privileges were confined to a class, while all the rest of their inhabitants were slaves. The consequence was a growing divergency between the convictions, the interests, and the tendencies of one half the Union, which was eminently free and democratic, and those of the other half, which was slaveholding and aristocratic. By the year 1854 the question of slavery had become the controlling question in the Republic's politics. There was now the Pro-Slavery party, which was the propagandist of slavery; the Democrats who masqueraded in the faded wardrobe of democracy, but who cared more for office than principle, and the real Democrats, who still retained the aspirations of the Jefferson school; the Whigs, who were the legitimate depositaries of federal principles crossed and improved by modern liberalism; the Fire-eaters, who seemed to be opposed to the union of the Northern and Southern States under any circumstances; and lastly, the Abolitionists, who were a moral rather than a political combination, though a large branch of them were not, in 1854, opposed to decided political action. The Abolitionists and the Fire-eaters, representing the extremes of Northern and Southern feeling, had no little influence on public opinion. In eloquence, earnestness, and integrity of purpose they were superior to the other parties, the Abolitionists in particular absorbing some of the finest ability of the country, oratorical and literary; but they were both too extravagant in opinion and too violent in procedure.

Their denunciations of the Union, proceeding from contrary views of its effects—the one condemning it because it was supposed to sanction, and the other because it was supposed to interfere with, slavery—neutralized each other, and led more tranquil minds to a conviction that they were both alike wrong. The Constitution did not recognize the existence of slavery as such at all, and in no form except indirectly; nor did it, on the other hand, confer upon the Government any authority for meddling with it, treating the subject, wisely as was thought, as a matter of exclusive State jurisdiction; yet the spirit and letter of the Federal Constitution were alike instinct with freedom, and, rightly interpreted, set up an insuperable obstacle against the extension of any form of servitude. The malice of its enemies found its food, not in legitimate operations of the organic law, as the framers of it intended it to operate, but in those deviations which the craft of politicians had superinduced upon its action, in those workings and torturings of its structure by which it was made to cover selfish and flagitious local designs. It would have been well if some of the anathemas at that time pronounced upon the factions of an extreme type, upon the disunionists of either wing, had been leveled at these more formidable antagonists of the peace, the politicians, to whose unjust and reckless schemes we owe nearly all our violent national reactions. In 1854 the Whigs as a party were pretty much defunct. They had never succeeded in becoming for more than a year or two at a time a predominant party. Respecting the Southerners there were some

who were the propagandists of slavery, and some who simply wished their peculiar domestic system to be let alone. The latter class deemed slavery a burden at best and a sad inheritance, and were anxious to manage it wisely with a view to its ultimate extinction, and would have been glad to have been relieved of their painful weight of responsibility. The leaders of the Pro-Slavery party identified themselves with the popular party of the North, and then, having accomplished that, gradually directed that party to the defense and spread of their peculiar doctrines. An eminent leader of the South, Mr. John C. Calhoun, while acting as Secretary of State, engaged in an official defense of the system of slavery before the tribunal of the world, and disgraced the nation by representing the Federal Republic as the apologist and defender of the most mean and offensive species of despotism. The demand for the introduction of slavery into the new Territories of the West, the demand that the free States should be made a hunting-ground for slaves, Secession, the War of the Rebellion, and the final emancipation of the slaves by Lincoln, rescued this great, this beautiful, this glorious land from a hateful domination and made all Americans freemen!

We come now to the present. We have to-day no profound, radical, comprehensive questions to quarrel about either in the Republican or in the Democratic party. We want as a Republic a political party at the national helm who will show us a steady continuance in integrity, a deaf ear turned to the charming of the adders of office; who will exhibit an eagerness to consult, amid

all the shiftings of policy, the fresh impulses of the honest young heart of the nation; and such a party will, ere long, gather about them the intellect, the virtue, and the popular instincts of right, which are the redeeming elements of States. The best Republicans and Democrats are scattered through the respective parties at large and elsewhere, as leaven through meal, without having an effective control in them, or even, perhaps, connection. These are the men who represent the popular instincts, who cling to living ideas of justice and equal rights and progress, and who refuse to follow their fellows in a pell-mell abandonment of themselves to the seduction of machine politicians of either party. They are not a few in number either North or South, and comprise a majority of the young men of the nation yet uncorrupted by official contact; but possessing no separate organization anywhere, they are sadly overborne by the practised managers of the old organizations, who wield the machinery of party action and consequently of power. The other class comprise the official or machine politicians, so denominated because they move and talk as they are wound up, constituting a powerful body in the State. Office is conferred, not as the meed of patriotic deserts, but as the wages of supple and mercenary service. They who dispense patronage do so in the conviction of Walpole that every man has his price, and they who receive it take it with a full knowledge that the stamp of venality is on every token of silver. Superiors in place are not superiors in merit, only superiors in craft and recklessness, while inferiors don the gilt lace and

plush of their official varletism without a blush on their cheeks or a sense of shame at their hearts. Government, in short, is converted into a vast conspiracy of placemen, managed by the adroiter politicians of the set, controlling elections, dictating legislation, defeating reforms, and infusing gradually its own menial and much-worn spirit into the very body of the community. The masses even, under the paralysis of such a domination, seem to be rendered insensible to the usual influences of honor and virtuous principle; are almost deadened to the heroic examples of their fathers; lose the inspiriting traditions of an earlier greatness and grandeur of conduct; and virtually, if not actually, sink into slaves. We claim that ours is a representative government; yet under the present system of machine politics a number of men, delegated for particular purposes to Washington, possessing not a particle of authority beyond that conferred upon them by the people, neglect the objects for which they were chosen, and proceed to accomplish other objects which are not only not wished by their constituents, but are an outrage upon their sincerest and deepest convictions. Can we call them representatives? What we want in legislation, as in other trusts, are honest fiduciaries; men who will perform their duties according to our wishes, and not in pursuance of their own selfish objects; men who do not require to be watched at every step and whose fidelity does not depend alone upon our ulterior privilege of suppressing them when they have done wrong. Any man in Congress who knowingly betrays the will of his constituents should be

branded as utterly unworthy of confidence and support. He has done his share toward the conversion of our fair fabric of free government into a machine of office-holding despotism, and the only recourse that is left us, to mark his treachery, is to discharge him from every participation in its councils. With regard to our future, the beautiful region of the West, compared with which the largest principalities of Europe are but pinfolds, nay, compared with which the most powerful existing empires are of trivial extent, may well cause the heart of the American, and of the foreigner even, who rides over it to dilate as he beholds in its rich fields the future homes of an advancing and splendid civilization. We can hear, where but a few years ago was the rustle of the grasses, the hum of a prosperous industry. We have seen magnificent cities rising on the borders of the streams, and pleasant villages dotting the hills; a flourishing commerce whitens the ripples of the lakes; the laugh of happy children comes up to us from the corn-fields; and as the glow of the evening sun tinges the distant plains, a radiant and kindling vision floats upon its beams, of myriads of men escaped from the tyrannies of the Old World, and gathered there in worshiping circles to pour out their grateful hearts to God for a redeemed and teeming earth.

This great West, if appropriated to the people, will prevent the concentration of wealth and stimulate the pride and industrial energies of our American citizens. We shall have no patricians to usurp the public domain, nor a people to grow poorer and corrupter, till at last

they are fed like paupers from the public granaries; no despots like Sylla and Marius of Rome, to convulse society by civil wars, and no tyrant Cæsar to arise and reap the harvest of previous distractions, and as the only salvation from profounder miseries to erect on the ruins of the Republic an irresponsible monarchy. It is one of the dangers as well as glories of this nation that its plans are executed with the rapidity of magnetism. A thought is scarcely a thought before it becomes a deed. We scorn delays. We strike, and parley afterward. We actualize the dreams of the old philosophers and impart to our abstract ideas an instant creative energy. Let us therefore now, as Americans, as freemen, as Christians, lay aside all party divisions and animosities in order to rescue our Republic from a hateful domination of machine politics. Let independent Democrats and independent Republicans meet for work on an independent, new platform, to work for the highest good of a Union formed for the establishment of liberty and justice—of a Union born of the agonies and cemented by the blood of our fathers—of a Union whose mission it was to set an example of republican freedom and commend it to the panting nations of the world. We are not yet arrived at such shameless debasement that we, freemen of the Republic, shall be suffocated by politicians into a silent acquiescence in corruption and machine politics, whether emanating from one party or the other. We propose, as the young men of this nation, to dare to utter the words and breathe the aspirations of our fathers, and we propose to propagate their principles; and the time is ripe

for a movement of the best progressive blood of the Republic, which shall reach from Maine to California, and who need dread neither ostracism nor political death—a movement which shall know *no North* and *no South*, but simply *our country*. Under the benign influences of such a movement the great interests of finance and commerce will awake and spring forth with newness of life, and national happiness, prosperity, and renown strengthen and grow. “By our homage for our Pilgrim fathers, by our sympathy in their sufferings, our gratitude for their labors, our admiration of their virtues, and our attachment to those principles of civil and religious liberty which they encountered the dangers of the ocean, the storms of heaven, the violence of savages, disease, exile, and famine, to enjoy and establish,” let us rise up, crush machine politics, and transmit the great inheritance unimpaired.

We hope we are alike free from a constitutional conservatism and a constitutional tendency to change. We neither belong to the class which clings to the old in all things nor to that other class which is so in love with progress as often to mistake novelty for improvement. We think, however, that a development of the present political parties will take place, not abruptly, but by gradual modification into something else; a new movement that all progressive men will join. It will be a process of evolution. The promoters of such a movement will see to it that their legislators and public rulers become such by virtue of their statesmanship and power to rule, by their force of nature, their intellect, and their higher worth; the best cultured and the

most refined. Such a movement will conform itself to equity and reason. Nothing will be saved by its prestige. The required change is urgent, but the vehemence of its promoters must not be intemperate. The promoters of such a movement will nominate men for office with whom no question shall be so subtle as to elude their grasp, or so complex as to defy their penetration. The spirit of bigotry has no place in our mind. We are tolerant of the opinions of others, and claim to be generous in our judgments toward them, but it is an immutable law of Providence that decay follows growth, and at present we have no cause to be proud of the degradation and corruption of American politics. There are men as bright in intellect, as pure in patriotism, if not as powerful in influence, as those whose grave has closed upon their labors, leaving their memory and their career at once an incentive and an example, who will gladly join a progressive movement; and such a movement will yet put forth men who will stand prominently forward upon the canvas of history, impressing their characteristics upon this century. Such a movement, among other things, will address itself to the duty of calling a certain class of the people back from revolutionary theories to the formation of habits of peace, order, and submission to authority, and of absolute reliance on constitutional remedies for the correction of all errors and the redress of all injustice. Such a movement will be at the same time eminently conservative of peace and of the great principles of constitutional liberty on which the republican institutions of our country are founded. The promoters of such a

movement will see to it that men of clear intellect, intuitive sagacity, and fatelike will shall represent them ; and what *wrong* is there which such a movement of the American people cannot successfully crush, and what *right* is there which cannot be accomplished? Such a movement, which will be a declaration of the supremacy of the American people, will make this Republic great, prosperous, and happy, and will labor to keep the Constitution and the Union in vigorous existence, under whose genial influences all that glory and happiness and prosperity that we know has been achieved. Such a movement will have a freedom of thought, a dignity, and an intellectual health which fail to obtain when machine politics are in the ascendancy.

Municipal Reforms for Cities.

All cities in the various States of similar grades should have charters that are alike ; they should have the same methods of bookkeeping ; they should pursue the same course in the assessment and valuation of property for the purpose of taxation ; and they should pursue the same policy with reference to the ownership of plants for furnishing their people with light, with water, with pavement, and with sewers. The charters of these cities will direct as to how the city accounts are to be kept. There should be a State Commissioner of Finance in every State, and every city should be under obligation to report yearly its financial condition to the central State authority. It would then be easy, at the capital of any State, to ascertain the exact receipts and expenditures of any city

in the Union. The methods of cities need to be unified and simplified as to their administration and their accounts. This is one of the administrative and economic problems that confront the promoters of a new movement. Many municipal governments are very expensive, very inefficient, and very scandalous. This cannot be otherwise while they are controlled by organizations formed merely for the distribution of spoil. Such a condition of things can only be remedied by good citizens uniting in vigorous and persevering efforts to put down the organized spoilsmen and divorce city government from party politics. The qualities which the head of every municipal government should possess are: a thorough knowledge of municipal affairs and of the men who have been or who seek to be active in them, that knowledge acquired not only by study, but by a long and large practical experience; a head full of the strongest common sense; a calm and clear judgment; a courage to down rascals; a sturdy uprightness of character and an absolute integrity of purpose; a no man's man, a man who will feel and conduct himself as the servant, not of a party or of a clique, but of the whole people of the city and their true interests; and a man whose word is as good as his bond.

The Need of a First-rate Coast Defense and a First-rate Navy for the Republic.

We need to protect the seaboard of the Republic by a first-rate system of coast defense, and we also need a first-rate navy. Our great Pacific seaboard and the

Atlantic coast are alike helpless. The maintenance of peace will be better assured by a due preparation for war than by any other means. Mr. Ericsson's system of coast-defense vessels is very efficient and should be adopted. This Republic should be made a great sea power, but this cannot be accomplished without a strong navy, and no country can maintain a strong navy without an extensive merchant marine. With a strong navy there will be the absolute necessity of coal and supply depots in many parts of the world. Without these, extended operations must fail. No great sea power can now exist without abundant, well-placed, and easily defended depots. Among the questions which are of first importance in naval war are, as Captain A. T. Mahan, of the U. S. Navy, says, "the proper formation of the navy in the war, its true objective, the point or points upon which it should be concentrated, the establishment of depots for coal and supplies, the maintenance of communication between these depots and the home base, the military value of commerce-destroying as a decisive or secondary operation of war, and the system upon which commerce-destroying can be most efficiently conducted, whether by scattered cruisers or by holding in force some vital center through which commercial shipping must pass." We should revive our navy and infuse new life into it, and become a great sea power.

The Nicaragua Canal to be Constructed and Controlled.

The United States must construct and control the Nicaragua ship-canal. From a naval and military

point of view, the direct advantage of holding such a great base of operations on Lake Nicaragua is without parallel in history, and yet this country hesitates about its construction. Nature has made here a disposition of land and water more favorable than at any other point for a water transit between the oceans. The size and depth of Lake Nicaragua are such that the largest fleet can drill there, and the fresh water would prevent the rapid destruction of the hulls of iron ships which takes place in salt water. Dockyards should be built on the shores of the lake, which in times of peace would be no running expense to the Government, as they would pay a handsome annual profit by taking care of the merchant marine. We should construct and control this interoceanic canal at once, and we should keep a swift and well-conditioned fleet of naval vessels there, ready to act on either coast. The naval strategic defense of the United States requires a strong fleet at Hampton Roads, another in California, ready to move effectively at a moment's notice, and a similar fleet in Lake Nicaragua. Then Key West must be held, and the mouths of the Mississippi protected. A strong fleet, auxiliary to the Hampton Roads fleet, must hold the sounds and channels of Long Island and Nantucket. Puget Sound must be held, and the Gulf of California dominated. The permanent safety of this Republic is not assured until the naval strategic defenses of the Republic are complete. We should also occupy Pearl River harbor in the Hawaiian Islands permanently. It is of the utmost importance to us as the naval and strategic key of the Pacific Ocean.

It is amazing that the political and commercial power of the Nicaragua Canal offered to this country should be so long viewed with indifference by this Republic. If any other nation ever gets it, the people of the United States will awake to the fact that, having long rejected it, they have then to fight for it to regain this most valuable key to national wealth, fame, and power, which we cannot afford to have any other nation hold.

Labor Reform.

One of the most important reforms that our country requires is Labor Reform, and I submit several distinct propositions which can readily be used for legislation.

1. *Legislation against child labor.* The State must educate all its children so as to insure their growing up with vigor of mind and body, which they cannot do if put to work in mills, etc., at an early age. This is a matter of national importance, as the source of our permanent national prosperity is to be found only in *all* of our American children growing up with strong physical, moral, and intellectual health, and this is impossible if they are removed from home to the dangerous moral atmosphere of shops, factories, and mills. The State must protect its children from this physical and moral evil.

Socialism.

We have in our Republic to-day the best organization of society ever known in the history of mankind. Labor agitators should understand this perfectly. If the working-men of the nineteenth century, instead of sacrific-

ing enormous sums in strikes, would organize one trade after another into coöperative associations, they would solve what they style the social questions with comparatively little trouble.

2. *Legislation to restrict properly the labor of women in industrial establishments.* We must preserve, at all hazards, our American homes, that the mother may not leave the children to grow up demoralized without a mother's care.

3. *Legislation looking toward the improvement of the sanitary condition of the dwellings of the urban laboring-classes.* Houses unfit for habitation should be torn down, and small parks provided to give breathing-places for the crowded sections.

4. *Legislation against Sunday work.* All factories, work-shops, and stores should be closed every Sunday, and no employees compelled to work for seven days in the week. The working-classes have suffered this slavery long enough. No railroads should be allowed to run coal-trains on Sunday. There is no true American so apathetic, so avaricious, or so selfish as to be willing to blight the prospects of his fellow-man by condemning him any longer to this servitude.

5. *Legislation against night-work for women and children in manufacturing establishments.*

6. *Legislation in favor of the length of the labor day being kept within the bounds prescribed by physiology and hygiene,* that the head of the working-man's family may be enabled to perform his duties as the father of a family and as a citizen.

7. *Legislation that by the governmental dissemination*

of appropriate lectures and literature among the working-classes ignorance shall be so replaced by enlightenment as to diminish the excessive mortality of working-people, and especially of children.

8. *Restriction of excessive immigration of foreigners, especially of the lower classes, who injure American working-men; and laws to keep out contract labor and all the most degraded foreign element. No law of Congress should be framed against nationalities as such.*

9. *Legislation tending to restrict corporations and trusts formed for the purpose of antagonizing labor, and vice versá.* If there are vast combinations of capital, there will be vast combinations of labor; and if there is a collision between these two interests, the State suffers and its public welfare.

“A happy bit hame this auld world would be
If men, when they're here, could make shift to agree,
An' ilk said to his neighbor, in cottage an' ha',
'Come, gie me your hand: we are brethren a'.”

10. *Legislation in favor of the better protection of life and limb of the working-classes.* The employers' liability acts need to be more and better, and there should be no tendency of our courts to decide against working-men in suits for damages.

There should be stringent factory laws, including protection against dangerous machinery, sufficient fire-escapes, and satisfactory sanitary arrangements. There should be a higher development of laws protecting the person, shielding it and guarding it in all its capacities.

11. *Legislation to improve our educational facilities, by*

manual-training and industrial schools. Girls should be taught by the State sewing, cooking, and the care of the house. We should so legislate that there shall be no such thing as an illiterate or uneducated class of Americans; that there shall be no neglected and uncared-for children. Education in some form should be carried on by the State to the age of sixteen or seventeen. This will give to our American children an immense advantage in the competition of life, and train to habits of industry and mental application. We can thus extinguish the pauper and semi-pauper class, so that there will be none to disgrace America. There is such a thing as to so exaggerate the doctrines of freedom as to glory seemingly in our abuses. *Education must be compulsory.* The church and the school-house are the crowning glory of this Republic.

12. A better administration of the law, fair but just. The safety of large cities in times of riot or violence depends upon our police and the National Guard. The best men only should be appointed to the police force.

13. Legislation tending toward a recognition of all that is good and repression of all that is bad in labor organizations.

14. *Legislation tending toward public-property defense*, to guard the public domain and public parks, and to secure for the public the full value of public rights. The property of the public must be paid for and protected like the property of individuals.

15. Legislation to encourage thrift, to prosper the masses by more savings-banks of undoubted security. Banks must be rendered secure by bonds to the na-

tion, and, where practicable, State and municipal banks started. The debts of all large cities in the United States should be held in small sums by the masses to insure better political effects. Every citizen should have a direct interest in municipal affairs and in the purity of local as well as of national politics. If the national Government ever have to borrow money, have national postal savings-banks everywhere.

16. Legislation tending so to regulate monopolies and corporations that the people may be assured of lawful methods, corporate honesty, no interference by them of legislative enactments, no popular rights defied, and no public property stolen. Legislation that shall secure individual responsibility of manager, with civil and criminal remedies; and measures adopted that will make it possible to place responsibility for corporate acts upon some one individual.

17. Legislation tending toward the public management of natural monopolies, like gas-works, water-works, electric-lighting works, telegraph companies, and railroads. Every town in the United States is better off if it owns the water and gas works. Public bodies should help themselves, not depend on others. These are public functions. Corporations do not bear their due share of public burdens. We want municipal, State, and national self-help. The beginning should be made in local governments, and from these extend to State and nation.

18. Legislation tending to provide public playgrounds for the children in every city, to keep them out of mischief, which degenerates into bad habits, intemperance,

and crime; and also to provide for more public libraries, museums and art galleries, and free concerts, so that the people may have full opportunity to enjoy all the advantages of literature, music, and art, and the elevating and refining influences of these agencies.

19. Legislation, such as necessary, tending to a reform of taxation.

20. Legislation tending toward a further development of labor bureaus managed by trained experts.

21. Legislation tending toward a prudent encouragement of coöperation. It will promote thrift and temperance when laborers, like the Minneapolis coopers, themselves become capitalists and self-employers by placing in a common fund their savings and managing their own business.

22. Respecting the *purification of the ballot-box* the great demand, we think, is for an educational qualification for voters and a ten to twenty-one years' residence, at least, in the United States. *No man should vote who cannot read and write, or who cannot read and understand the Constitution of the United States.*

23. *A National Health Department.*—Governments, in a certain way, have always done something to aid men in their endeavors to stay the pestilence and save the afflicted, but never adequately. They have generally refused to make the medical profession a permanent integral part in the administration of the State; that is, in the making and the execution of sanitary laws.

What laws are necessary for the full employment of this beneficent profession? We reply, those that relate to the social state of the people for the prevention of

disease. They comprehend an amplitude and purity of water-supply ; proper dwellings for the lower classes, without overcrowding or deficiency of light and air ; unadulterated food ; complete drainage and disinfection of excrement ; the preservation of rivers and smaller streams of water from pollution ; the regulation of the hours of labor ; the protection of childhood from the imposition of toil, and their proper education ; cleanliness of streets, and planting of shade-trees for protection from intense solar heat, and for the decomposing power, by their leaves, of deleterious gases and miasmata ; the establishment of public baths ; the operations of quarantine to prevent invasion of pestilence and landing of immigrants with diseases dangerous to others ; the isolation of persons attacked with infectious disease, and the disinfection of localities ; the construction and management of general and special hospitals ; the care of the sick poor in their homes ; the prevention of consanguineous marriages and marriages of those who have destructive types of constitution ; the warning of society of the evil consequences of abuses of the brain, the material basis of consciousness, whereby a free will is impaired and the sufferers become irresponsible and are often mentally ruined ; and lastly, the regulation of that giant evil of civilization, intemperance.

We affirm that all the measures for public relief on these important subjects should be under the guidance of medical men.

It is not the mere knowledge of the human frame as a diseased thing, or a mechanism, that should give us highest consideration in the State, but rather our capac-

ity to prevent sickness by securing the proper administration of the laws of health. At present we occupy positions but little better than mere advisers to authoritative bodies ; our soundest suggestions are at the mercy of the ignorance and prejudice of uninformed legislation. The medical profession holds itself ready not only to diminish the fearful destruction of life now going on, but ultimately to destroy the contagia that cause it.

Silver.

Gold and silver are the money of the Constitution, the money in existence when the Constitution was formed, and Congress has the right to regulate their relations. It is to be hoped that they will always favor the coinage of such a silver dollar as will not only do justice among our citizens at home, but prove an absolute barrier against the gold monometallists. Four hundred and twelve and a half grains of silver will not make such a dollar. We should maintain silver coin at full legal tender, but upon the basis of equality with the gold dollar. We should employ both metals, maintaining such fair equalization as will not disturb the value of real property or of annual products, and which will secure a steadiness in the wages of labor and a sound currency in which to recompense it. The dollar of commerce cannot with safety be exclusively based either upon the scarcer or the more plentiful metal.

“Respecting silver, we must have international agreement, and we can only get it by ceasing to buy silver. As long as we buy silver, Europe will expect to see us

on a silver basis, which would relieve the silver troubles of Great Britain, Holland, Germany, and France for a long time, and would render it needless for them to take any action on the subject. But if we stop buying silver the gold price of silver will so fall as to render the new British experiment in India a total failure. Another result would be a further appreciation of gold (fall in prices) in England itself, so terrible that the most obdurate monometallist would at last begin to see the ruin which the execution of his theory must entail. In consequence, Great Britain would be forced to make common cause with us in this most important interest. The other nations of Europe would join and the problem be solved."

Tariff Revision.

Respecting tariff revision, we need such a degree of protection as will best serve the interest of the American people as a whole. The North needs a reasonable, broad protection for manufactures, and reciprocity; the South needs protection for rice, sugar, oil, and wool; and the experience of the other nations of the world teaches us that very careful thought and wisdom must be used.

Responsibility of Wealth.

We must make great material prosperity conduce to individual advancement by teaching the American people to recognize God's ownership in all our substance. Wealth, instead of being centralized, will be distributed when Christian stewardship is accepted. The number of

missionaries in our cities must be increased twenty-fold, and mission-chapels built among the densest population of all the cities. It is for all true Americans to see to it that the dangerous and destructive elements do not make greater progress than the conservative. To-day the reverse is true, and the future of our American Republic depends upon the way in which American Christian men meet the crisis. America Christianized means the world Christianized, and any new movement must, to be successful, become God's right arm in his battle with the world's ignorance and sin. We must work to Christianize every citizen of our Republic, which means all the races. Such a movement has glorious possibilities before it. Shall we realize them? We must see to it that there is placed in the hand of every Christian agency in the great West every power that money can wield. The whole civilization of the West must have Christian education. Men of wealth should take pleasure in liberally endowing the young Western colleges, which are characterized by a strong religious influence. There are boundless possibilities for usefulness in wealth, and Christian men will make them realities. Any new movement will be an American movement for the world's sake. It must use the gospel to transform the lawless men and women of our great cities into good citizens, for nothing else can do it. The watchword of any new movement must be, *Religion, Learning, Liberty, and Law. In hoc signo vinces.* Christianize the immigrant and he will be easily Americanized. Christianity is the solvent of all race antipathies. Christianity will antagonize modern socialism far more

rapidly than political economists, and reconcile social classes. The remedy is Christianity as taught in the New Testament. We say to every American citizen, If you are a true patriot and love your country, work together to evangelize the poorer classes in all the large cities. We say to great manufacturers, Be just, and admit the working-man to a just share in the profits of his labor. This will result in the twofold improvement of material prosperity by the great improvement of your people in your factories, and in seeing your dividends increase and the wages of your operatives increase with your dividends. Popular discontents would then decrease wonderfully. True Americans will legislate patriotically and wisely, and we have no use for professional politicians and every use for Christian statesmen. Every true American citizen wishes for national prosperity. Every one who believes in the Christian religion knows that by rendering man temperate, industrious, and moral, it makes him prosperous. If each of these professed Christians who would like to see Christian statesmen in office would give ten cents a week it would amount in a year to at least \$52,000,000 for a fund to do good with. If we are to have an American movement let every American man, woman, and child take an interest in it, as its object is to benefit us and our country. We have the power to mold the destinies of unborn millions if we will but exercise it. Let us not devitalize ourselves as Americans by alcohol, but eagerly grasp the grand possibilities of spreading Christ's kingdom on earth in this epoch of civilization in which traditionary creeds are losing

their hold. As men of science we have good reason to believe that the laws of the spiritual world are simply the laws of the natural world, and that to-day it is possible to enunciate spiritual law in the exact terms of biology and physics. We have to-day an entire recasting of truth, and all that is needful in order to offer to mankind a scientific theology is the introduction of law among the phenomena of the spiritual world. Law introduced among the scattered phenomena of nature has transformed knowledge into eternal truth and has made science; and to thinking men the reign of law will transform the whole spiritual world as it has already transformed the natural world. We have to study truth in nature as it came from God. Bagehot has given us the extension of natural law to the political world; Spencer has given us the application of natural law to the social world; and last and greatest of all, Henry Drummond has given us the extension and application of natural law to the spiritual world, and his work has, I trust, been read by every man and every woman. At the top of natural law we touch God, and there we find the same fixed laws that so impress us in nature. It should be the crowning glory of our Republic to seek to civilize and evangelize all races who come to America, so far as we are able. The foreign policy of any new movement will not be one of arms, but of vitality, civilization, and evangelization. We welcome in our country men of every race and clime, and, once here, they are free to become whatever they can make of themselves. The race question can be solved in a measure by first educating and Christianiz-

ing the colored man, and then sending him to darkest Africa, which such explorers and heroes as Stanley have opened up, for the purpose of civilizing and Christianizing his African brethren. An American movement, if represented by Christian statesmen, and adhering to the central pivot of religion, learning, liberty, and law, can radiate out in every direction, and what wrong is there that it cannot right, and what evil that it cannot suppress? America is yet to rule the world, and an American movement should naturally be the movement at the national helm. We have nearly seventy millions of people here, and we have room for a thousand millions. We are to have the great preponderance of numbers and of wealth. Arts, sciences, and empire are fast traveling in our direction. Do our wealthy men realize their Christian stewardship? Will they use their vast wealth for the good of the Republic? We are going to have not only the greatest numbers, but also the highest civilization, if wealth is rightly used, that the world has ever seen. The great principle of a new movement must be to lift up all who come to our shores into the light of the highest Christian civilization, so that as American citizens their watchword will be identical with ours.

Let the great idea be the love of liberty and the love of God, and nothing can withstand our power. Our Pilgrim fathers came here with that idea, and may it always be perpetuated. It is impossible to overestimate the influence upon the entire world of any nation which becomes distinguished for its marked religious character and its educational advantages. The whole

civilized world will acknowledge its empire, and such a career has this young Republic of America. May the time come when the entire population of our beloved country may be found in church every Sunday, and we will see to it that nothing is allowed to extinguish the moral illumination of this day, and break this glorious mainspring of the moral government of God. Growing intelligence will never compensate for decaying morals, and intelligence must keep pace with the growth of population; and with an educational qualification for voters and compulsory education for children, such a thing as illiterate voters or an illiterate school population will be unknown. We must look well that moral and religious influences are peculiarly strong where our social explosives are gathered, i. e., in the large American cities. This is the way to antagonize the dangerous elements of our civilization. This is the great conservative principle by which society can be kept together.

Finally, I desire to speak briefly of three of the most important problems with which society in our Republic has to do to-day, viz., *The Family*, *The Church*, and *The State*, and their relations to the great social fabric. Let us first look at *The Family*. We have under this head the questions of sex, education, and marriage. Leaving the questions of sex and marriage to be dealt with at some future time, we come to the subject of education. We wish our children to be well educated in literature, art, and music, and above all in religion. How shall we accomplish it? "It is noticeable," says Coleridge, "how limited an acquaintance with the master-

pieces of art will suffice to form a correct and even a sensitive taste, where none but masterpieces have been seen and admired; while, on the other hand, the most correct notions and the widest acquaintance with the works of excellence of all ages will not perfectly secure us against the contagious familiarity with the far more numerous offspring of tastelessness or of a perverted taste." This holds true equally in literature, music, and in morals. Bring the children up on masterpieces, if you would have them acquire the strong bone and blood and muscle of a correct taste and a lofty moral character. Do not vitiate their taste or their morals by bringing them into contact with vile art, vile literature, or poor music, when it is just as easy to surround them with all that is highest and purest and most elevating. If every patriotic parent and teacher would, as Hamerton has said, so store his mind and the minds of his children and pupils with knowledge and make their judgments sure, in order that the national mind, of which their mind is a minute fraction, may be enlightened to that extent, be it ever so little, think what the result would be. Hamerton truly says that the intellectual life of a nation is the sum of the lives of all intellectual people belonging to it, and in this sense your culture is a gain to your country whether she counts you among her eminent sons or leaves you forever obscure. "Act well your part: there all the honor lies." John Foster, one of the most profound thinkers, says: "Lay hold on the myriads of juvenile spirits before they have time to grow up, through ignorance, into a reckless hostility to social

order; train them to sense and good morals; inculcate the principles of religion, simply and solemnly, *as* religion, as a thing of divine dictation, and not as if its authority were chiefly in virtue of human institutions; let the higher orders, generally, make it evident to the multitude that they are desirous to raise them in value and promote their happiness; and then, *whatever* the demands of the people as a body, thus improving in understanding and sense of justice, shall come to be, and *whatever* modification their preponderance may ultimately enforce on the great social arrangements, it will be infallibly certain that there never *can* be a love of disorder and insolent anarchy, a prevailing spirit of revenge and desolation. Such a conduct of the ascendant ranks would, in this nation at least, secure that, as long as the world lasts, there never would be any formidable commotion or sudden violent changes. All those modifications of the national economy to which an improving people would aspire and would deserve to attain would be gradually accomplished, in a manner by which no party will be wronged and all will be happier." One reason of the greatness of our country is that, ever since the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, religious principles have been impressed on the opening minds of the American youth, and it has been under the ascendancy of this divine wisdom that our children's discipline in any other knowledge has been conducted, and nothing in the mode of education has had a tendency contrary to it and everything has been taught in a manner recognizing the relation with it, as far as has been consistent with a natural, unforced way

of keeping the relation in view. With the American youth the sense of *propriety* is *conscience*; the consideration of how they ought to be regulated in conduct as a part of the community is the recollection that a Divine Intelligence dictates the laws of that conduct and will judicially hold them amenable for every part of it.

We come now to *The Church*. To make a strong republic, the church must become the most powerful factor in the social and political life of the land, for, as Foster says, "is not a discipline thus addressed to the purpose of fixing religious principles in ascendancy, as far as that difficult object is within the power of discipline, and of infusing a wholesome tincture of them into whatever else is taught, the right way to bring up citizens faithful to all that deserves fidelity in the social compact?"

There is coming, and it is not far off—we see it in the Republic of France, in the newly formed Republics of Brazil and Hawaii, we hear it dimly muttering from the mines of Siberia—a great change in the social systems of the Old World. Webster said: "What is that conservative principle by which society can be kept together, then, when empires and kingdoms shall have no more influence? The only conservative principle must be, and is, religion, the authority of God, and the influence of the teaching of the church." Coleridge said: "Yet those who confine the efficiency of an established church to its public offices can hardly be placed in a much higher rank of intellect than 'minds of the most vulgar cast' who undervalue the Christian mainstay. That to every parish throughout the kingdom

there is transplanted a germ of civilization; that in the remotest villages there is a nucleus round which the capabilities of the place may crystallize and brighten, a model sufficiently superior to excite, yet sufficiently new to encourage and facilitate, imitation—this is the unobtrusive continuous agency of a Protestant church establishment, this it is which the patriot and the philanthropist, who would fain unite the love of peace with faith in the progressive melioration of mankind, cannot estimate at too high a price.” One of the greatest works of the church is to teach the children to keep themselves pure and unspotted from the world, and to do this by inculcating the love of their Father for them, and by exciting their love and reverence for the church as his temple in which to do him honor. That great statesman, Daniel Webster, has said of the Christian ministry of the United States: “And this body of clergymen has shown, to the honor of their own country and to the astonishment of the hierarchies of the Old World, that it is practicable in free governments to raise and sustain by voluntary contributions alone a body of clergymen which, for devotedness to their calling, for purity of life and character, for learning, intelligence, piety, and that wisdom which cometh from above, is inferior to none and superior to most others.”

We have finally to consider *The State*.

“What constitutes a state?

Not high-raised battlement or labored mound,
Thick wall or moated gate;
Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crowned;

Not bays and broad-armed ports,
 Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride ;
 Not starred and spangled courts,
 Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume and pride.

“No : *Men*, high-minded *men*,
 With powers as far above dull brutes endowed,
 In forest, brake, or den,
 As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude ;
 Men who their duties know,
 But know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain ;
 Prevent the long-aimed blow,
 And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain :
 These constitute a state ;
 And *Sovereign Law*, that state’s collected will,
 O’er thrones and globes elate
 Sits empress, conniving good, repressing ill.”

At the meeting of the first Congress of the United States, Daniel Webster said that there was a spirit of Christianity which rose above forms, above ceremonies, independent of sect or creed and the controversies of clashing doctrines ; and John Adams in a letter to his wife, Mr. Webster said, stated that he never saw a more touching spectacle. “Mr. Duché read the Episcopal service of the Church of England, and then, as if moved by the occasion, he broke out into extemporaneous prayer, and those men who were then about to resort to force to obtain their rights were moved to tears,” etc. Let the State, as well as the church, teach the children to keep Sunday as a holy day. By arresting the stream of worldly thoughts, interests, and affections, stopping the din of business,

unloading the mind of its cares and responsibilities and the body of its burdens, while God speaks to men and they attend and hear and fear and learn to do his will, man gains in physical, moral, and intellectual health. Is there one so short-sighted, whether churchman or not, who would willingly extinguish the moral illumination of Sunday, and break this glorious mainspring of the moral government of God? Let no statesman ever forget what the family and the State owe to the church and to the ministers of Christianity, and neither let them forget that the only great conservative principle by which society can be kept together is religion, and let State and church work together for the highest interests of our American Republic. Let us send as far as possible Christian statesmen to Congress, to our State Legislatures and Senates, and we the people will ourselves solve the most difficult problems of modern society. It is the duty of the State to inculcate patriotism in the teaching of scholars in the public schools and in the homes of the people. Teach the children's hearts to respond with every throb to these words of Daniel Webster:

“Hail! all hail! I see before and around me a mass of faces glowing with cheerfulness and patriotic pride. I see thousands of eyes turned toward other eyes all sparkling with gratification and delight. This is the New World! This is America! This is Washington! and this is the Capitol of the United States! and where else among the nations can the seat of government be surrounded, on any day of the year, by those who have

more reasons to rejoice in the blessings which they possess? Nowhere, fellow-citizens! assuredly, nowhere! Let us then meet this rising sun with joy and thanksgiving. . . . The muse inspiring our fathers was the genius of Liberty, all on fire with a sense of oppression, and a resolution to throw it off; the whole world was the stage, and higher characters than princes trod it; and instead of monarchs, countries and nations and the age beheld the swelling scene. How well the characters were cast, and how well each acted his part, and what emotions the whole performance excited, let history, now and hereafter, tell. . . . Fellow-citizens, this inheritance which we enjoy to-day is not only an inheritance of liberty, but of our peculiar American liberty. Liberty has existed in other times, in other countries, and in other forms. There has been a Grecian liberty, bold and powerful, full of spirit, eloquence, and fire; a liberty which produced multitudes of great men, and has transmitted one immortal name, the name of Demosthenes, to posterity. But still it was a liberty of disconnected states, sometimes united, indeed, by temporary leagues and confederacies, but often involved in wars between themselves. The sword of Sparta turned its sharpest edge against Athens, enslaved her, and devastated Greece; and in her turn, Sparta was compelled to bend before the power of Thebes. And let it ever be remembered, especially let the truth sink deep into all American minds, that it was the *want of union* among her several states which finally gave the mastery of all Greece to Philip of Macedon.

“And there has also been a Roman liberty, a proud,

ambitious, domineering spirit, possessing free and popular principles in Rome itself, but even in the best days of the republic ready to carry slavery and chains into the provinces and through every country over which her eagles could be borne. What was the liberty of Spain, or Gaul, or Germany, or Britain, in the days of Rome? Did true constitutional liberty then exist? As the Roman empire declined, her provinces, not instructed in the principles of free popular government, one after another declined also, and when Rome herself fell, in the end, all fell together. Our inheritance is an inheritance of American liberty. That liberty is characteristic, peculiar, and altogether our own. Nothing like it existed in former times or was known in the most enlightened states of antiquity.

“The State must guard and perpetuate our distinctive American political principles, which are: 1. The establishment of popular governments on the basis of representation; 2. That the will of the majority, fairly expressed through the means of representation, shall have the force of law; and 3. That the law is the supreme rule for the government of all. . . . And I now proceed to add that the strong and deep-settled conviction of all intelligent persons among us is, that in order to support a useful and wise government upon these popular principles the general education of the people and the diffusion of pure morality and true religion are indispensable. Individual virtue is a part of public virtue. It is difficult to conceive how there can remain morality in the government when it shall cease to exist among the people; or how the aggregate

of the political institutions, all the organs of which consist only of men, should be wise and beneficent and competent to inspire confidence if the opposite qualities belong to the individuals who constitute those organs and make up the aggregate."

The secret of the strength and uniqueness of our Republic lies in the fact of our union and also that, from the beginning, the church and the school-house have everywhere marked the steps of American civilization. The whole duty of the great public men of the State, patriots and warriors, orators and statesmen, may be admirably outlined in the words of Daniel Webster when he said—supposing George Washington back again to address the people at the occasion of the laying of the corner-stone of the addition to the Capitol on the Fourth of July, 1851, when Mr. Webster made the address:

"Would he [Washington] not say to us: 'Ye men of this generation, I rejoice and thank God for being able to see that our labors and toils and sacrifices were not in vain. You are prosperous, you are happy, you are grateful; the fire of liberty burns brightly and steadily in your hearts, while *duty* and the *law* restrain it from bursting forth in wild and destructive conflagration. Cherish liberty as you love it; cherish its securities as you wish to preserve it. Maintain the Constitution which we labored so painfully to establish, and which has been to you such a source of inestimable blessings. Preserve the Union of the States, cemented as it was by our prayers, our tears, and our blood. Be true to God, to your country, and to your duty. So shall the whole Eastern world follow the morning sun to con-

template you as a nation ; so shall all generations honor you as they honor us ; and so shall that Almighty Power which so graciously protected us, and which now protects you, shower its everlasting blessings upon you and your posterity ' ? ”

CHAPTER XI.

THE DUTY OF CITIZENSHIP TOWARD THE DRINK PROBLEM, INTEMPERANCE.

INTEMPERANCE in drink has a very close relation to and is one of the main exciting causes of insanity, crime, and disease.

Among the moral causes of insanity may be mentioned domestic grief, frights and nervous shock, religious excitement, adverse circumstances, loss of relatives or friends, mental anxiety and "worry," and overwork and love-affairs. Among the physical causes of insanity may be mentioned intemperance in drink, sexual intemperance, over-exertion, sunstroke, accident and injury, the different periods in life of women and the diseases of women, fevers, privation and want, hereditary and congenital influences, etc.

Intemperance in drink heads the list of physical causes of insanity, and domestic trouble and grief the moral causes, but out of over 2000 cases of insanity we find intemperance in drink the cause in 577 cases, or 27.4 percent., and domestic trouble and grief in only 72 cases, or 3.4 percent. There can be no doubt that intemperance in drink induces insanity in fully 25

percent. of all the insane cases in the United States, either directly or indirectly. It is also responsible for very much of the imbecility and idiocy of the offspring of intemperate parents. Fifty percent. of all our idiots and imbeciles are without doubt the offspring of drunkards. Where strong liquors are increasingly consumed we find a proportionate amount of alcoholic insanity. Where the consumption of alcohol doubles, there we find the cases of insanity from intemperance will rise over 50 percent. Increase in the number of suicides always follows increased consumption in alcohol, and suicide is a product of insanity. A normal man or woman seeks from our Heavenly Father "the peace which passeth all understanding," to fortify him or her against the reverses, trials, and disappointments of the world; while the unstable, ill-balanced mind, with reason and judgment perverted and will power lost or impaired by the use of alcohol, having nothing to cling to or anchor to, rushes unprepared into the presence of its Maker.

Children born of parents when under the influence of liquor are sure to be weak somewhere. A child born of a mother who drinks during her pregnancy is sure to be weak somewhere, mentally, morally, or physically, and perhaps in all three respects. A mother who goes through her pregnancy a clean, chaste, temperate woman, feeling a sense of responsibility to God for the future life of her unborn babe with an immortal soul, will present to the world a future citizen whose life will prove the tremendous influence of a good prenatal environment. He is likely to have the elements

born within him that go to make up a useful citizen of the United States.

On the other hand, if the mother be intemperate and dissolute in her habits, I dare assert that it is impossible, with such a prenatal environment, for a child to become a great or good citizen, of value to the State. There will be nothing embodied in his mental structure to make him either good, great, or a useful citizen. He is much more apt to become a criminal, insane, or a drunkard. A child cannot be nourished for the first nine months of its life on alcohol, and then exhibit in its after-life a normal intellect, emotion, or will power. For a young married woman to drink in even what is conventionally termed moderation is to reap a bitter harvest of tears over the future life of her child, whom she fondly imagined would be her pride and comfort.

That we reap what we sow is nowhere more strikingly exemplified than in the nature and effects of alcohol upon man and his offspring. If I could have one wish granted to me I would ask that the people of our United States of America would believe so fully and so heartily in what I and many others have tried to teach as to the physiological action of alcohol in men and women, that in every State in our Union it would be dealt with by legislation as a poison, and classed with other poisons such as opium and chloral.

It is objected to that this would interfere with personal liberty and that this is the land of the free. Is a man free who daily injures his body and brain by drinking in obedience to a craving which he is powerless to resist? Is he free when he injures the struc-

ture of his brain and impairs its functional action by periodical drinking to the point of intoxication, due to a craving which he cannot resist, although his reason and conscience alike rebel? Does he not realize in the interval between his paroxysms that his periodical drinking results in altered conduct and loss of ability? Does he not promise himself and friends that he will reform? Does he not know that the alcohol lowers his intelligence and morals? Does he not feel that its use brings down his brain-capacity to a lower level? Does he not believe that it has a special effect upon the nerve-centers? Acknowledging all this, as he will, is he not assured that it necessarily affects all thought and conscious action, as the brain is the organ of thought? If a brain-worker, does he not feel bitterly that he cannot do his best work when under its influence? Is he free when he deplures in an agony of remorse the fierce appetite for alcohol which periodically masters him—which his will cannot resist, as the daily and perhaps moderate use of stimulants has insidiously drawn him in the vortex of the disease of dipsomania—and then is driven in a week or a month to repeat his indulgence in alcohol to the point of intoxication? Is he free when he obscures his higher faculties against his reason and judgment and in spite of his will power? Is he free when he buys a ticket to attend an intellectual entertainment that he wants to see and hear, and then stops on his way and takes one, two, three glasses of whisky, and finally finishes the bottle and spends his night in a sensual manner, when a loving wife and children await his coming at home,

and when in his heart he loves them more than all on earth?

Free! No, he is not free. He is a *slave*, more to be sympathized with and pitied than the most abused slave depicted in "Uncle Tom's Cabin." He is a slave whose mind in its lucid intervals fully appreciates and loathes the cursed fetters, but has not strength to break them. How is he ever to break them if his friends and neighbors complacently mind their own business and allow liquor saloons to confront him on every corner, putting temptation in his way?

I appeal to the strong good sense of the American people, which, when roused, can sweep the country and put through any reform; I appeal to the guardians of public hygiene in the United States of America; I appeal to every mother in the country to diminish the number of liquor saloons and to coöperate with the medical profession in combating a vicious propensity, so insidious in its advances and so disastrous in its results. Personal liberty is a clear right, but it is not a clearer right than the right of the people to insist that poison shall not be sold to be drunk as a beverage, to ruin the physical, moral, and intellectual life of so many people. When it is remembered how great a portion of the people of this country have children that they wish to grow up temperate and virtuous, I cannot understand how the abolition of the liquor traffic is hostile to their rights and privileges. I consider that patriotism will never have been shown more conspicuously, existed more truly, or burned more fervently than when, sending up an ardent prayer to God for succor,

the people of the United States of America put forth the energy of their whole soul and spirit in the cause of temperance, and class alcohol in all its forms, by legislation, with the poisonous drugs, to be obtained only upon the prescription of a reputable physician to be used in time of sickness.

The scheme of American liberty was never intended by our forefathers to include the liberty of any man to sell citizens, as a beverage, a poison the habitual indulgence in which will make them insane and their offspring imbeciles and idiots. As it was the want of union among her several states which finally gave the mastery of all Greece to Philip of Macedon, so it is the want of the union of opinion on the temperance question, or a terrible lethargy, or both combined, that bids fair to give the mastery of all America to the liquor traffic. Would that my pen might become a clarion to rouse Americans to a stern sense of their responsibility in this matter. Would that I had the spirit, eloquence, and fire of Demosthenes to proclaim from Maine to California the physiological action of alcohol upon man and his offspring. Would that I could impress upon the mind of every young man in the country that he cannot be even a moderate drinker without the tremendous danger of the alcoholic appetite supervening, and that to lead a life of honor, of usefulness, and of success in all the professions and pursuits of life he must be a temperate man; that he cannot drink and have that intense energy, that broad humanity, and that love and obedience to God which go to make up the most useful citizen of the United States.

Who would undermine our Republic? Every young man does so by just so much when he undermines himself by alcohol, for not alone he, but his children, will be a burden instead of a bulwark to her. Our system of free government depends upon the support of the national honor and character among the nations of the earth, and the maintenance of the Constitution and the Union. It was made for a temperate people and not to be dominated over by the liquor traffic. The power is with the people. They can exercise it by their representatives, and may they soon do so in every State.

CHAPTER XII.

THE GREATNESS AND PROGRESS OF OUR COUNTRY.

“**T**HE Union is the edifice of our real independence, the support of our tranquillity at home, our peace abroad, our prosperity, our safety, and of the very liberty which we so highly prize; and for this Union we should cherish a cordial, habitual, immovable attachment, and should discountenance whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned.” Our railway system, which in 1846 was in its infancy, has grown to immense proportions. In 1846 New York did not have a continuous road to Buffalo; Philadelphia was not connected with Pittsburg; Baltimore’s projected line to the Ohio had only reached Cumberland, among the eastern foot-hills of the Alleghanies; the entire Union had but 5000 miles of railway. In 1860 there were 30,626 miles of railway, and in 1890 there were 167,741 miles of railway in the Union, an increase of 448 percent.; and in 1888 the Pennsylvania Railroad Company were carrying more tonnage and traffic than all the merchant ships of Great Britain. The money in the savings-banks of the State of New York (\$600,000,000, more than ninety percent. of which belongs to the laboring classes), with

Railroads.

Savings-banks.

a population of 6,000,000, is vastly more than all the savings in the savings-banks of England, Ireland, and Scotland, with a population of 36,000,000; and our wealth *per capita*, and in actual possession of the people, far exceeds that of any other nation in the world.

Respecting the tariff of our country, in levying a tariff we should so levy it as to protect all products of our

The tariff. farms, factories, and mines by equalizing conditions. If there are countries that are rivals of ours, where the wages of labor are such that they can produce more than we can, it is fair to protect the American producer by a tariff; and where the conditions are such that the tariff is not necessary, and where the laborers are not in competition with those of this country, we can through reciprocity promote our trade and admit products free. The protective theory in the whole American tariff system is to build up American industry by protecting American labor and opening markets at home and abroad. This is a broad, liberal, and catholic principle. The principle of protecting the manufactures and encouraging the navigation of the United States I regard as the very cornerstone of our national prosperity.

In 1865 the debt of the nation was \$2,221,311,918.29. In 1884 the national debt was \$1,338,229,150. The total
National debt. wealth of the country in 1860 was \$16,159,-
National 616,068. In 1890 it amounted to \$62,610,-
wealth. 000,000, an increase of 287 percent. In 1880
Manufactur- the capital invested in manufacturing in
ing capital. seventy-five leading cities was \$1,232,839,670. In 1890
 the capital invested in manufacturing was \$2,900,735,-

884. In 1880 the number of employees was 1,301,388. In 1890 the number of employees was 2,251,134. In 1880 the wages earned were \$501,965,778.

In 1890 the wages earned were \$1,221,170,454. In 1880 the value of the product was \$2,711,579,899. In 1890 the value of the product was \$4,860,286,837. The new industrial plants established since October 6, 1890, and up to October 22, 1892, numbered 345, and the extension of existing plants, 108. The new capital invested amounted to \$40,449,050, and the number of additional employees to 37,285. During the first six months of 1892, 135 new factories were built, of which 40 were cotton-mills, 48 knitting-mills, 26 woolen-mills, 15 silk-mills, 4 plush-mills, and 2 linen-mills. Of the 40 cotton-mills, 21 were built in the Southern States. The number of working spindles in the United States on September 1, 1892, was estimated at 15,200,000, an increase of 660,000 over the year 1891. The consumption of cotton by American mills in 1891 was 2,396,000 bales, and in 1892, 2,584,000 bales, an increase of 188,000 bales. From the year 1869 to 1892 inclusive there has been an increase in the consumption of cotton in Europe of 92 percent., while during the same period the increased consumption in the United States has been about 150 percent.

Number of employees.

Wages earned.

Value of products.

New manufactures.

On September 30, 1892, there were 32 companies manufacturing tin and terne-plate in the United States, and 14 companies building new works for such manufacture. The actual production for the quarter ending September 30, 1892, was 10,952,725 pounds, and it was

estimated that under the protective principle 200,000,000 pounds per annum could be produced.

During 1891, in about 6000 manufacturing establishments in New York State, representing 67 different industries, there was a net increase over the year 1890 of \$31,315,130.68 in the value of the product, and of \$6,377,925.09 in the amount of wages paid.

In the State of Massachusetts, 3745 industries paid \$129,416,248 in wages during the year 1891, against \$126,030,303 in 1890; also an increase of \$9,932,490 in the amount of capital and of 7346 in the number of persons employed in the same period.

From July to December, 1891, and from January to July, 1892, the total production of pig-iron was 9,710,819 tons, as against 9,202,703 tons in the year 1890; which was the largest annual production ever attained. For the same twelve months of 1891-92 the production of Bessemer ingots was 3,878,581 tons, an increase of 189,710 gross tons over the previously great yearly production of 3,688,871 gross tons in 1890. The production of Bessemer-steel rails for the first six months of 1892 was 772,436 gross tons, as against 702,080 gross tons during the last six months of 1891.

The value of our exports during the fiscal year 1892 reached the highest figure in the history of the Government of the United States, amounting to \$1,030,278,148, exceeding the value of the imports by \$202,875,686. During the fiscal year 1892 the value of imports free of duty amounted to \$457,999,658. The value of the imports of merchandise

entered free of duty in 1892 was 55.35 percent. of the total value of imports.

The freight carried in the coasting-trade of the Great Lakes in 1890 amounted to 28,295,959 tons. **Freight.**
On the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio rivers and tributaries in 1890 the freight carried amounted to 29,405,046 tons.

The number of depositors in savings-banks increased from 693,870 in 1860 to 4,258,893 in 1890, an increase of 513 percent., and the amount of deposits from \$149,277,504 in 1860 to \$1,524,844,506 in 1890, an increase of 921 percent. In 1891 the amount of deposits in savings-banks was \$1,623,079,749. It is estimated that 90 percent. of these deposits represent the savings of wage-earners. **Depositors and deposits in banks.**

Agriculture has fairly participated in the general prosperity. The value of total American farm products increased from \$1,363,646,866 in 1860 to \$4,500,000,000 in 1891, an increase of 230 percent. **Agriculture.**

With reciprocity, our trade with the countries of Central and South America now amounts to \$600,000,000 annually, whereas in 1885 we had only 8 percent. of this trade. Our domestic exports to Germany and Austria-Hungary increased 21.63 percent. from the date when reciprocity went into effect up to September 30, 1892. **Reciprocity.**

The public debt in December, 1892, had been reduced since March 4, 1889, \$259,074,200. Our postal revenue for the three years ending June 30, 1892, amounted to \$197,744,359, which was an in- **Postal revenue.**

crease of \$52,263,150 over the revenue for the three years ending June 30, 1889.

Our merchant marine has at last received some of the public attention due to it, and 16 American steamships, of an aggregate tonnage of 57,400

**Merchant
marine.**

tons, costing \$7,400,000, have been built or contracted to be built in American ship-

yards. When the full service required by existing contracts is established there will be 41 mail-steamers under the stars and stripes, with 7 fast steamships for trans-atlantic service added to our naval reserve. We have a new steamship service to Southampton, Boulogne, and Antwerp, and a new steamship service to the Argentine Republic. There is no reason why America, under proper legislation, should not become the great sea power of the world. We are getting a new navy of

New navy.

which every American may be proud, and we have new armor-plate for our ships, we

have torpedoes, we have armor-piercing shells, we have a smokeless powder and a slow-burning powder for large guns, we have a high explosive for shells fired from service guns, and we manufacture guncotton. We have a new naval militia in eight States, which it is to be hoped will be largely extended. In short, we have that due preparation for defense which is the best guaranty of peace. The country has taken proper care of the disabled soldiers of the War of the Rebellion. We have made a successful effort to break down the restrictions to the free introduction of our meat products in the countries of Europe. Agricultural products constituted 78.1 percent. of our great exports

for the fiscal year closing June 30, 1892, the total value of agricultural products exported exceeding by more than \$150,000,000 the shipment of agricultural products in any previous year. American agriculture has been immensely benefited. Our World's Columbian Fair at Chicago worthily sustained the honor of the United States.

Exports of
agriculture.
World's Fair.

If the executive officers of the ship of state will avoid the dangerous breakers of free trade and promote legislation on a restriction of immigration; on the establishment of a national board of health, with a minister of health, who should be a cabinet officer; on the prevention of the existing evil of the trade-unions whereby American boys are barred from being mechanics; legislation tending to labor reform; to the restriction of trusts; temperance legislation which would educate the public up to the proper knowledge of the physiological effects of alcohol on the human race, classing alcohol as a poison, and its sale to be regulated as is the case with other poisons; recommendation by Congress that each State adopt an educational qualification for voters; and lastly, what I conceive to be of the highest national importance, *a permanent national mode, established by law before the election to which it may first apply, of adjudicating disputed points in the return of presidential votes**—we shall have years of national health and continued prosperity. After an election a commission cannot be convened whose decisions will be accepted gracefully by both political parties in the United States.

* Decisions concerning the claims of rival electors are, by a recent act of Congress, left to the State.

We need more true patriotism and true American feeling, and less sacrifice of this feeling to mere party and to the dictates of machine politicians, who seem to stifle the public into acquiescence with their will, so that very often there is an inconsistency between a man's conviction and his vote.

Political Economy.

Under the beneficent operations of the protective principle, the American mills have been kept open and American workmen's wages kept up, and our farms have fed our factories—each an indispensable help to the other—and we have had a well-employed and prosperous community that could buy and consume, which is the great fundamental factor of the whole science of political economy. If labor is not employed it cannot consume; and the destructive and highly dangerous operation of free trade in any young country is in the overwhelming importations from abroad, which prevent the multiplication of the modes of the employment of labor and the best-diversified industry, and paralyze the highest industrial civilization, and workmen cannot get varied employ. There is little work for the hands and little work for the teeth. If any country is to be great and prosperous it must encourage the industry and skill of its people and develop the natural resources of its territory, and it must so levy customs-duties on foreign imports as to prevent the free importation of such articles as can be made or produced at home, and also to furnish needed government revenue. Such duties encourage and protect home

manufactures and home labor and skill by the prevention of the pouring in of a flood of foreign manufactures. The protective principle protects the laboring classes of the United States, the whole class of mechanics, by giving them work and protecting their earnings, and that is the way to protect the laborer. *The protection extended under the operation of the protective principle to capital is as nothing to that which is given to labor.* The credulity of the public has been put to its extreme capacity of false impression relative to this whole question.

The duty of this and every other government is to preserve, not to destroy ; to maintain the position which it has assumed ; and every thinking citizen should feel it an indispensable obligation, regardless of party, to hold it steady to the protective principle. The brawny arms of the poor laborer enrich the State, and labor has the right to demand that it shall be protected by the operation of the protective principle, which gives him work and protects his earnings and prevents him from being the victim of the extortions of British producers. Wealth consists in whatever is useful or convenient to man, and labor is the producing cause of all this wealth. Labor means not only human industry but also any active agency which, working upon the materials with which the world is supplied, brings forth products useful or convenient to man. The materials of wealth are in the earth, in the seas, and in their natural and unaided productions. Labor obtains these materials, works upon them, and fashions them to human use. The application of science to art has in-

creased this active agency and augmented its power by employing steam and falling water to act on machines in the factories and workshops, which produce effects more accurate than the human hand can produce ; and it is equally as sad to see spinning-machines, power-looms, and all the mechanical devices not acting, under the blasting effects of free trade, as it is to see the laboring classes not acting and not eating because they have no work and no wages and therefore cannot buy and consume. The protective principle in government has the effect to direct the productive force generated by human wants, setting in motion human labor to act upon the natural agents of production with a better actual result than under the reverse rule. Hold this country to a settled policy. I hold it to be very unfortunate if there is any code or party which obliges men in public or private life to adhere to opinions once entertained, in spite of experience and better knowledge, and against their own convictions of their erroneous character. The tendencies of free trade we are bound by true patriotism and by the love of the Union to resist: this is our duty as citizens of the United States. The first great cause of our national prosperity is *employment*. The first requisite is that which enables men to buy food and clothing. This is a country of labor, where all are engaged in some sort of employment that requires personal attention, either of oversight or manual performance. To diversify employment is to increase employment and to enhance wages. If there is employment there is bread, there is clothing, there is instruction, there is health, there is sobriety, there is morals; and where there is

well-paid labor and constant employment, there is general prosperity, content, and cheerfulness. The labor of the whole country has been protected by the beneficent operation of the protective principle from the time of the adoption of the Constitution until to-day. We received this inheritance of the protective principle from the fathers of our Republic, and I trust we shall transmit it to posterity. If the raising of the great mass of the people of a country to a better condition, if surrounding them with greater comforts and greater abundance of all things—if thus elevating their social condition is a bad thing, then indeed is the protective principle, or, in other words, a tariff discriminating in favor of the people of the country where it is framed (for they are identical), very bad, and should be discarded in favor of the free-trade principle, or a tariff which discriminates against them and in favor of foreigners.

How any true American who has the love of country and pride of country in his heart can desire to do his country the fearful injury of allowing free competition in the products of our industry and taxing foreign products which we cannot produce or compete with; imposing high duties on such articles as we do not and cannot produce or manufacture, and low duties, if any, on our iron, woollens, cotton, etc., which is the scheme of free-trade reformers, I fail to see. It is simply taking the tax from the products of British manufacturers imported into this country and levying it on the comforts and necessaries of the American farmer and working-man.

Every country who wishes a sure revenue, easily

raised, amid permanent prosperity, should frame the tariff with fit duties for protection and revenue on such articles as they can make or produce, and admit foreign products which they cannot produce free of duty ; and it is the duty of our Government so to act at each epoch in the national progress as to favor the taking possession of all the branches of industry whose acquisition is authorized in the nature of things. Such establishment of diversification in the pursuits of our people, not by monopoly, but by fair competition, is the aim of a protective principle or policy. The protective principle does not benefit one class at the cost of another, but it benefits all by a just recognition of the independence of all industries, labor most of all ; which is right and just.

The genius of America has never felt the shadow of a personal and irresponsible despotism ; she has never suffered from an imperial government with an immense standing army ; she has never seen her lands held by the monk or the nobleman ; and may she never, so long as she continues her veneration and regard for Washington, endanger her independence, her Union, and the Constitution, by an acceptance of the dangerous and mischievous doctrine of free trade, which is now persuasively urged upon us by a Government which in time of our national peril gave the most valuable assistance to the South, and actually engaged in defeating the military operations of the United States by a thoroughly organized system of so-called neutrality, that supplied ports, ships, arms, and men to a belligerent that had none, and whose foreign policy toward the

United States during the Civil War manifested a spirit intense in its hostility and dangerous in its consequences—a spirit of hostility to the Union itself, and which desired and expected the dismemberment of our Republic, and gave material advantage and moral encouragement to the organized forces of rebellion against the best Government on earth. When by long experiment and persistent effort we have carried our fabrics to perfection; when by the large accumulation of wealth and the force of reserved capital we can command facilities which other nations cannot rival; when by the talent of our inventors, developed under the stimulus of a large reward, we have surpassed all other countries in the magnitude and effectiveness of our machinery; when we feel able to invade the domestic markets of other countries and undersell the fabrics produced by struggling artisans who are sustained by weaker capital and by less advanced skill—then we may proclaim free trade and persuasively urge it upon all lands with whom we have commercial intercourse. At present we need to look sharply after our own interests, especially in the protection we need to extend to our navigation. In all channels of trade where steam can be employed we should pay generous subsidies, and create for this country a practical monopoly in the building of iron steamers by encouraging our naval engineers and ship-builders and building engines at less cost than any other nation, and obtain a superior share in the ocean traffic of the world. The American flag should be a familiar sight in every port of the world.

That great American statesman, James G. Blaine, said of the protective principle: "A closer observation of the conditions of life among the older nations gives me a more intense desire that the American people shall make no mistake in choosing the policy which inspires labor with hope and crowns it with dignity, which gives safety to capital and protects its increase, which secures political power to every citizen, comfort and culture to every home." May the administration of our Government never be under the dominion of any party that does not demonstrate the purpose and the power to wield it for the unity and the honor of the Republic and for the prosperity and progress of the people.

On the other hand, if the protective policy adds to the gains of the few at the expense of all; if the educated and skilled workman does not need protection; if it is a narrow and exclusive doctrine; if it simply protects the strong against the weak; if it is a menace to public morals for the reason that the producers of any one thing form a class who have the strongest inducement to misrepresent and bribe in order to get if possible more than their share; if it is a cause that acts in reduction of the wages of labor—then it would be a policy in which would exist the largest possibility of economic injury, and a tariff for revenue only would be the better principle in our political economy. I have stated both sides of this great economic question, and my readers can reason it out for themselves according to their convictions and their conscience. A most important point in political economy relating to this

whole question is this: Will the laboring classes, while suffering economic injury from any source, remain firm in their industrial quality and await the operation of the restorative and reparative forces which shall, in time, set them right? The great need is for security and stability: for a *permanent settled policy*, that capital and means and labor may all be well employed and be assured of no violent fluctuations.

Last, but not least, this country has had in times of national danger generals who have never been surpassed for gallantry of spirit and intrepidity of action in the military service of any country; and from the foundation of our Republic, a set of American statesmen who have been scholars, orators, philanthropists, and philosophers—statesmen whose splendid and unsullied fame will always form part of the true glory of the nation; and a national Government that has proved its strength in war, its conservatism in peace.

The United States of America is to-day a great and permanent power, with the conservative strength of our Union an influence for good, even in Europe.

Look at our progress! No unfriendly Government will ever venture again to strike at our national life. The prestige of the Union is growing. Look at our population; our apportionment; the public debt; the total valuation of real and personal estate; the ownership and location of property; the amount of revenue collected; the important crops; the operations of the post-office; the number of miles of railroad; the total amount of pensions; the distribution of the tonnage of the merchant marine employed in the foreign trade,

the coasting-trade, and the fisheries; the immigration into the United States; the coal and iron product; the quantity of pig-iron produced, imported, exported, and retained for consumption in the United States; the number of men called for by the President of the United States, and the number furnished by each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia, both for the army and the navy, from April 15, 1861, to the close of the war; at our new and rapidly growing navy; our school age, population, and enrolment of the States and Territories, with salaries paid to teachers and total expenditure for schools; our colleges; our schools of science; our legal-tender currency; the number of national banks and returns of the State banks; and finally, at our territorial growth—and we shall see that we as citizens of the United States have lived to see free institutions, a growth of population, and an increase of material wealth for which every citizen of our country may return thanks to an almighty God.

In conclusion I say to the youth of my country, as soon as you are of proper age become a member of the National Guard of whatever State you reside in. From a patriotic point of view it is your duty and your privilege. The National Guard of our country is also a great school in manly virtues. It trains a young man to habits of order, quickness in perception, promptness in execution, self-control, fortitude, and readiness both to obey and to command. This splendid body of our young men is of great value both to State and nation by giving our country trained soldiers in time of need without the nation having to groan over the crushing

burden imposed, not only by heavy taxes to support a large standing army, as is the case in Europe, but by the removal from productive industry of so large a number of the most vigorous youths. International arbitration is to be the rule hereafter, and war the exception; but it is important for any nation of the first class to keep itself on a basis of the highest condition of military efficiency, and at the same time to avoid the crushing burden of the armaments of Europe. We are a peaceable and peace-loving country, and we do not maintain a National Guard from a fancy for soldiering, nor from the passion for the pomp and circumstance of war. We do it in obedience to a deep sense of duty, which teaches thoughtful men that in a great and growing country, that is going to have the preponderance of wealth and of numbers, a due preparation for war is the best guaranty of peace, and that we can rely on our police and our National Guard to insure the maintenance of social law and order in our commonwealth whenever it becomes necessary. Our National Guard, therefore, in its strength and efficiency should give every citizen a deep feeling of national satisfaction and of pride, and it augurs well for peace and civilization.

Cultivate a broader patriotism, a sense of the dignity of our United States of America, give your devotion, above all things, to the Constitution and the Union of States, and cultivate a sturdy sense of duty toward the State. Keep yourselves abreast of the best thought of the century. Use all your personal influence, as you take part in life, to the furtherance of the idea that

offices are not "spoils" distributed by party leaders, but trusts imposed by the entire people, and that the basis of choice to office should not be adherence to this political party or service to that political manager, but capacity and character and integrity.

Do your utmost, as you find occasion, for good city government, in whatever city of our country you reside ; for civic economy and dignity. Do your personal part to elect to your city councils men of the highest character and attainments, who, when elected, will be proud to take their seats at the city hall and develop the system of city government in accordance with the wisest statesmanship. Realize that as a citizen you should be one of the real forces at work in the steady evolution of a higher civilization. Assist higher educational methods ; assist science, literature, and art ; assist in the religious and moral development of society, and labor to make the nation more beautiful and more noble, that American religious reverence may send its roots deep into our national soil : and the multitude and variety and vitality of the elements of our American civilization will guarantee to us a national career long, brilliant, and beneficent.

CHAPTER XIII.

ELEMENTARY PRIVILEGES AND DUTIES OF VOTERS.—NATIONAL, STATE, AND MUNICIPAL OFFICERS FOR WHOM A CITIZEN IS ENTITLED TO VOTE.—POLITICAL DIVISIONS AND THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE LAW IN REGARD TO VOTERS.—CIVIL ADMINISTRATION AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

Suffrage.—The different State Constitutions, as a rule, give the right to vote to all male citizens, residents of the State, twenty-one years of age and unconvicted of high crimes. Idiots, lunatics, and paupers are denied the right to vote. Women are allowed in many States to vote on educational matters.

Qualifications.—Persons of foreign birth, otherwise qualified, who have declared their intention of becoming citizens of the United States, have suffrage conferred upon them. It requires five years of actual residence in this country for a foreigner to become a citizen of the United States. In several States there is a requirement that the voter shall be able to read the Constitution in the English language. A few States require that he shall be a taxpayer.

Residence.—In most States a citizen, to be entitled to vote, must have resided in the State for one year, in

the county for four months, and in the election district for thirty days next preceding the election.

Registration.—In many States, before the election in each district, the citizens who intend to exercise their rights of suffrage are required to register, and their names are placed on what are called registry lists. In many large cities this is done on stated days before each election. Elsewhere the list is made up from that of preceding years, and new names are added at the time of voting.

Election Districts.—The State is divided into counties and towns, and into congressional, senatorial, judicial, and assembly districts. These are called *election districts*. The Governor and some other State officers are elected by all the qualified voters of the State. The other officers and representatives of the people, including those of counties and towns, are elected by the voters of their respective districts.

Time.—The general election is held in nearly all the States on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November of each year.

Place.—The places where votes are cast are called the polls. These are in charge of inspectors of election, appointed or elected, representing different political parties. They are open from sunrise to sunset on election day.

Manner of Voting.—All voting is by ballot. Each person voting casts his ballot in person. Any inspector of election or any voter may challenge the right of any person to vote; but if the challenged party swears upon oath that he has the legal qualifications, his vote

must be received. If any person votes illegally he can be punished by law.

Canvassing.—After the polls are closed, the canvassers count the votes, and those who receive the greatest number of votes for offices within the election districts are declared elected by the local, county, or State board of canvassers, as the case may be, according to the dignity of the offices which are to be filled at the particular election. The county board declares the result for county officers, and the State board for all the higher officers.* This is termed *canvassing the votes*.

The national, State, and municipal officers for whom every voter is entitled to vote are as follows:

National.—President, Vice-President, and Representatives to Congress.

Electors.—The people do not vote directly for the President of the United States, but for presidential electors, and each State is required to choose as many electors as there are Senators and Representatives from that State. The election for President is held in November of each fourth year. The presidential electors who are chosen at the election meet in their respective States on the second Monday in January and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President. Separate lists of all persons voted for as President and Vice-President are sent sealed to Washington to the president of the Senate, who, on the second Wednesday of February, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives of Congress, breaks the seals and counts the

* In some States the General Assembly canvasses the votes for the Governor and the Lieutenant-Governor.

votes. The person having the greatest number of votes for President is declared elected, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed. If no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest number, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives of Congress choose immediately by ballot the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President is declared the Vice-President. If no candidate for the Vice-Presidency receives a majority, the Senate choose one from the two candidates receiving the greatest number of votes.

Congress.—The election for members of Congress—Representatives—in each district comes once in two years. Two Senators from each State are chosen by the Legislature for six years. The qualifications for a Representative of Congress are, that he must be twenty-five years of age, must have been a citizen seven years, and must live in the State from which he is chosen. Each State is obliged to have at least one Representative in Congress, and the number of Representatives cannot exceed one for every 30,000 inhabitants. The House of Representatives is not limited to any definite number. No person can be a Senator until he is thirty years of age and has been nine years a citizen of the State, and who is not when elected an inhabitant of the State that elects him.

State.—The State officers for whom every voter is entitled to vote are Governor, Lieutenant-Governor (in the States that have one), and, in most States, Secretary of State, Comptroller, Attorney-General, and

Treasurer ; also, in most States, for Judges of the State Courts.

County.—The county officers for whom voters are entitled to vote are the Board of Supervisors, Sheriff, County Clerk, District Attorney, and County Treasurer, and Judges of the County Court and Surrogate's Court.

Municipal.—The municipal or city officers generally elected are the Mayor, Comptroller, Auditor, and Treasurer, and judges of the police courts and any additional city courts, as, in New York, the Superior Court, Court of Common Pleas, and the Marine Court, and, in Brooklyn, the City Court.

Town.—The town is a subdivision of the county. In the New England towns the voters elect a Board of Selectmen to manage town affairs and enforce the laws. In the other States a Town Supervisor or Commissioner is elected, who is a member also of the County Board ; also a Town Clerk, Assessors, Collectors of Taxes, Constables, and Highway Commissioners ; also Officers or Justices of the Peace are elected.

The details of party organization in which voters may take part consist of the primary of the town or of the city ward ; the County Convention, composed of delegates from all the primaries of the county ; the State Convention, composed of delegates from the County Convention ; and the National Convention, composed of delegates from all the State Conventions. The National Convention is supposed to embody the sentiments of all the voters of the party in the country.

Civil Administration and Political Science.

There is no question of greater moment to every good and loyal citizen of the United States than the question of *Civil Administration*.

The work of Grotius and Puffendorf in enforcing a better fundamental theory of law; of Frederick the Great in bettering the codes; of Stein in shaking off feudalism—was but preliminary to our modern civil fabric. Out of this development arose the great work of that greatest of all German geniuses in reform between Luther and Lessing—Christian Thomasius, who began the efficient training of young men for the service of the state at the University of Halle. His was the initiating power which resulted in giving to Germany, in nearly all its greater universities, courses of advanced instruction, not merely for training men to the law, to medicine, to theology, to science, to literature, but to the service of the state. Education has no higher duty, and American universities can render no more valuable service to the country, than to establish courses in history, political science, and general jurisprudence, in which young men can be trained to discuss questions of political economy, finance, and general policy in public meetings, in the press, and in legislative bodies, not as machine politicians, but as men who have kept abreast of the best thought of our century—courses in which young men will be taught that the true fundamental theory of the whole American civil administration is that every official, from the President of the United States to the pettiest clerk, is

to act entirely in the interest, not of any man or any clique or any party, but of the entire nation; that the basis of choice to office should be capacity and character; that capacity should be shown by competitive examination, and that good servants for the State being thus secured, they should be retained as long as they are honest and faithful; that there should be a system of promotion upon approved merit; that men in office should not be driven to support men or measures in opposition to their own conscience; in short, that the fundamental principle of American civil service is republican in the highest sense. The subjects of the *administration of justice*, the *municipal administration*, *intellectual development*, *social development*, and *religious and moral development* could all be taught in a manner conducive to the public good in such advanced university courses.* The features most urgently required in the political development of the United States are to develop by university training a body of young men who will be strong men in political thinking; who will

* An American Post-Graduate School will be started this coming winter in New York, with an able corps of professors, to begin the efficient training of young men for the service of the State. Students will be taught that constructive forces must be made to replace destructive forces in society; that the family is the social microcosm; and they will be taught to take an intelligent interest in social welfare and to distinguish the constituent social elements and to study social aggregates; to study social activities as functions; to study derangements of social health. A scientific and philosophic method will be employed, that our students may in the future use the results of wider induction with good social effect in political action.

follow in the footsteps of Thomasius, Stein, Hardenberg, Fichte, Dahlmann, and Bismarck of Germany, and of Washington, Webster, Clay, Jefferson, Hamilton, and Choate in this country, so that there may be an end of local jealousies taking the place of national patriotism, of favorites taking the place of statesmen, of political work being mainly cheaterly, and of political thought being simply intrigue. Then we shall see in our visits to every local Legislature—what every thoughtful visitor fails to be impressed with to-day—steadiness, independence, and dignity; and the results of this training will be to make our national Congress what it should be—one of the best deliberative bodies in existence, with its members in their places instead of in courts trying suits or at the departments seeking patronage.

We need, finally, to build up our country's material interests by more polytechnic schools like those of Munich, Stuttgart, Carlsruhe, Aix-la-Chapelle, Dresden, Hanover, and Berlin, from which men shall be sent out to become civil, mechanical, and mining engineers, builders and manufacturers; and in Boston and New York we have already made a good start in this direction. We also need to establish in our country museums of industrial art like those at Nuremberg, Frankfurt, Munich, Stuttgart, Berlin, and Dresden; where should be found specimens of the most perfect work into which art enters, in order to stimulate and improve American art industry; and we need to stimulate the zeal of our American workmen in every department of industry by frequent local exhibitions of the best that

can be produced in these departments, and where such work can be exposed for sale at a price which will encourage genius and skill. In the methods of our constructive industry we already surpass all Europe, but we need to pay more attention to art in industry. America does not need a Scharnhorst to develop for her a great military system, but she does require a body of public men in whom shall be combined strength, common sense, clearness of vision, tenacity of purpose, and a spirit of deep patriotism ; and it remains for our universities to prove valuable centers for such political training.

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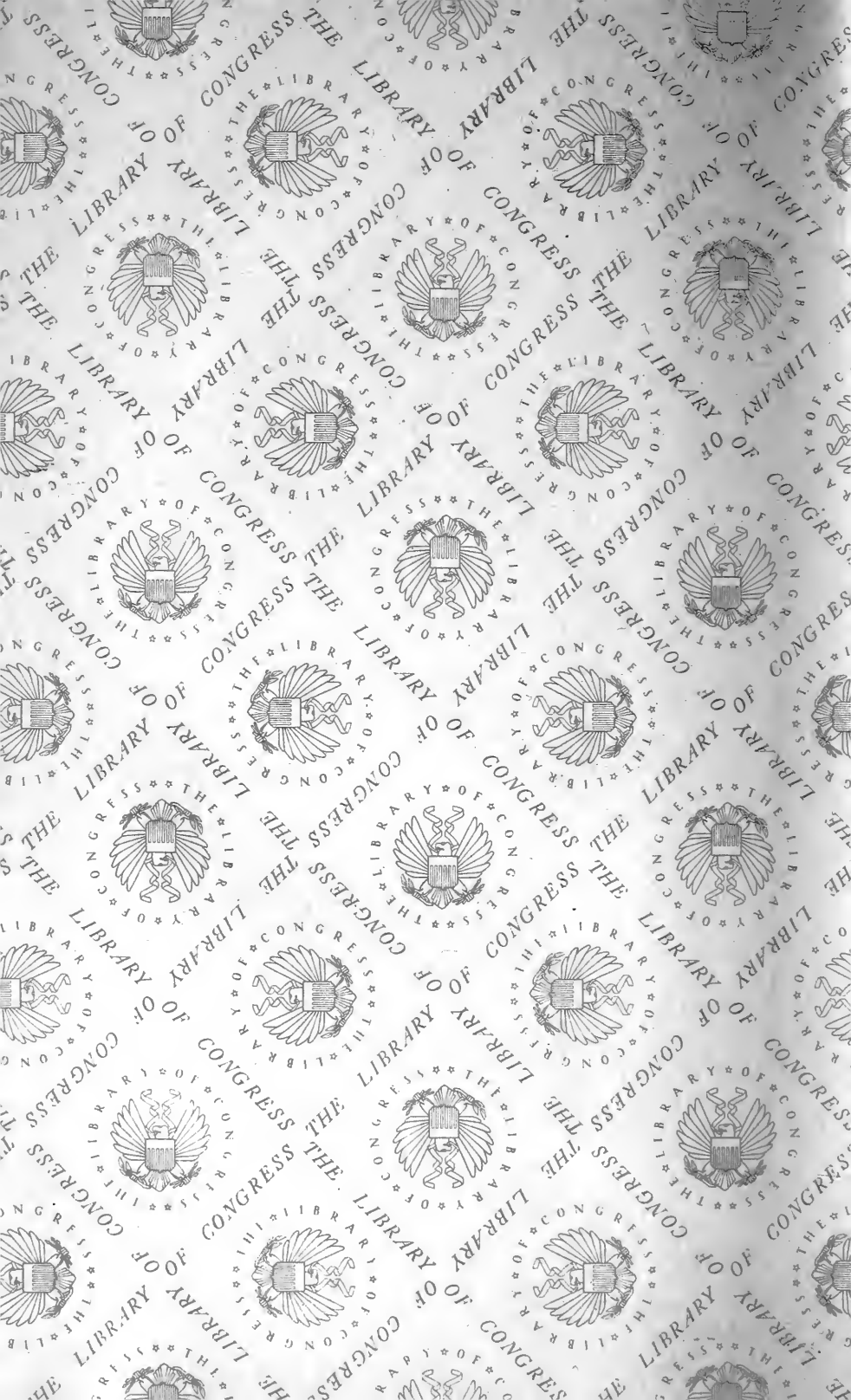
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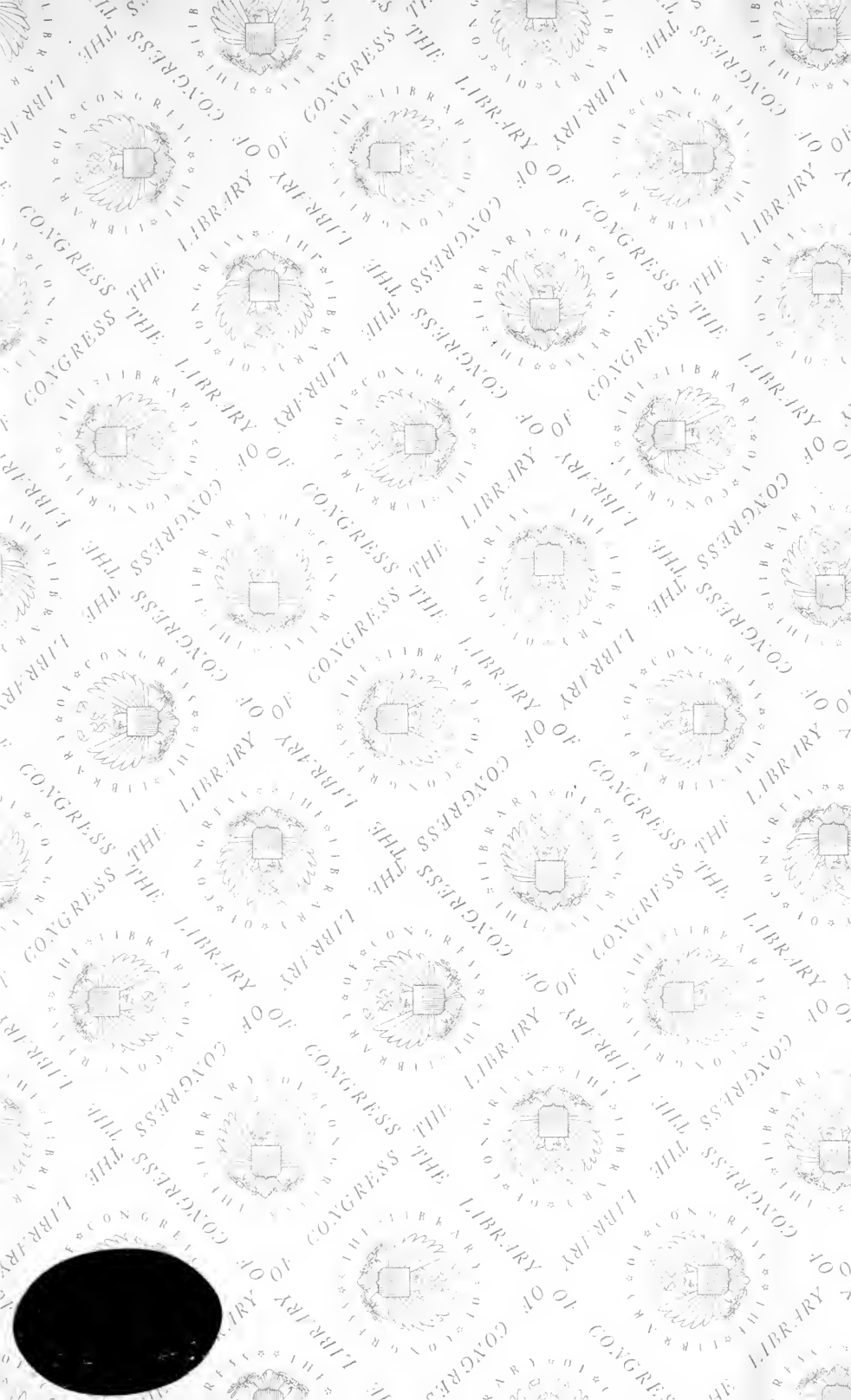
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